

EASTERN WORLD

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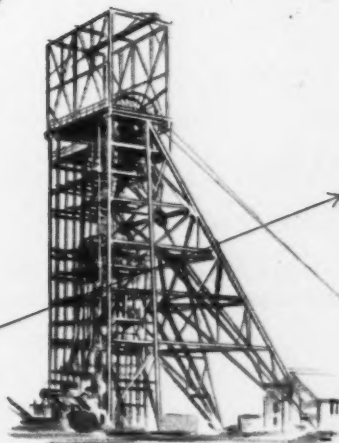
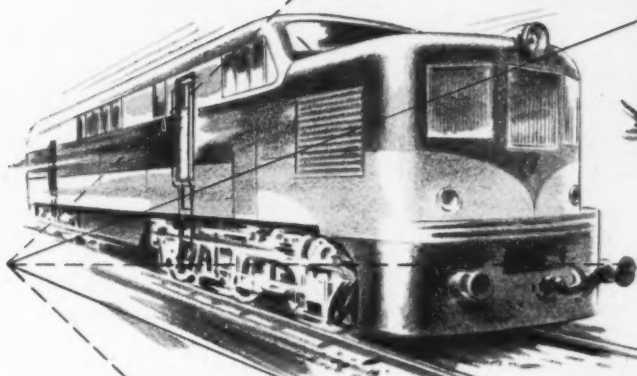
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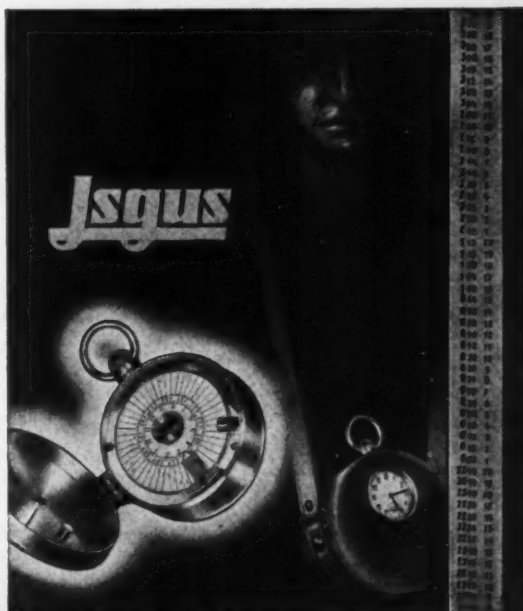
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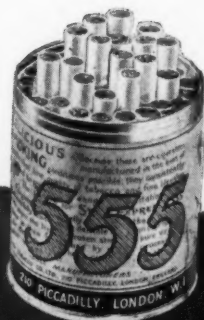
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EASTERN WORLD

KASHMIR

AFTER four years of heated discussions, the Kashmir problem is now apparently nearing its crisis. New life was brought into the affair last month when, in addition to the customary protagonists of India, Pakistan and the United Nations, another, hitherto ignored, voice made itself heard: that of the Kashmiris themselves. Although Sheikh Abdullah's two statements last month were widely reported in the world press, they have not made the issue much clearer. The Kashmiri Premier has merely confirmed that the bride is not particularly enamoured with either of her suitors and that she would infinitely prefer to remain a happy spinster if this were possible. Sheikh Abdullah's statements are insofar valuable as they fail to mirror the complete devotion to India which the latter seems to have taken for granted until recently, although her undue delay in withdrawing her troops from the State of Jammu and Kashmir indicated certain doubts as to the strength of India's claim. Furthermore, when Sheikh Abdullah passed through London recently, great pains were taken to prevent him from meeting correspondents. However, the Sheikh's statements have now established that his people are in favour of achieving the maximum amount of independence and that, even if they may have to rely on India in defence, foreign affairs and communications, they do not wish to make further concessions concerning their sovereignty. Remarkable, too, was his remark that Kashmir wishes to function as a bridge between India and Pakistan and that he was convinced that the two countries could one day reunite. Thus, while undoubtedly disturbing the minds of many both in India and Pakistan, Sheikh Abdullah's stand may actually relieve his two powerful neighbours of a vital embarrassment and pave the way for better understanding between them by establishing Kashmir as a third, separate unit rather than a potential part of either. The tone of the statements had the additional quality of balance which makes it likely that both India and Pakistan will respect any decisions which the Kashmiris will be allowed to make. Pakistan, it must be admitted, has shown super-human patience in the Kashmir question. Time after time she has accepted practically all proposals made to her and aimed at achieving a solution, and there are all indications that she will honour any decisions made by the people of Kashmir. The plain speaking of Sheikh Abdullah has now prepared for a similar attitude on the part of Delhi. The United Nations Security Council which, either for reasons of wisdom or weakness, has allowed the matter to drag on in spite of the decisions it has taken, has now another oppor-

tunity of saving its prestige and of exploiting the situation by insisting that demilitarisation and the plebiscite should take place without delay. Dr Frank Graham's latest 36-page document now before the Security Council should be acted upon quickly and without time-wasting discussions. It reports a substantial progress in the question of demilitarisation which has to precede the plebiscite. With the Indian withdrawal of one division of 18,000 men and their armour, the remaining forces of both India and Pakistan in Kashmir have now been reduced to under 50 per cent. of their previous strength, and the threat of actual military clashes is now very remote. The political atmosphere between New Delhi and Karachi appears to be much improved, and it is to be expected that both India and Pakistan will cooperate in the final phase of the settlement of the Kashmir problem thus enabling them to divert the substantial proportions of their budgets now devoted to defence, to urgently needed social purposes.

JAPAN

ON April 28th, the Treaty of San Francisco came into force, re-establishing Japan as a sovereign power, but the post-war Japan is presumed to be entirely different from its pre-war counterpart: a democratic, peaceful power and, in American eyes, a bulwark against Communist aggression in the Far East. Only time will show how far these beliefs can be relied upon. For the last few years Japan was heavily subsidised by the United States, and the Korean war has proved to be a boon for Japan's commerce and industry. While under the provisions of the Treaty some U.S. forces will remain in Japan to carry out America's obligation to defend the country against outside aggression, it is by no means certain whether the San Francisco arrangements will be of lasting duration. In the first place, the war in Korea is surely to end some day despite the poor quality of the present armistice negotiations. This, combined with the lack of U.S. subsidies, will create an economic crisis in Japan which will force her to seek to reinstate herself in her traditional markets on the Chinese mainland. In that case the political implications of the one-sided Peace Treaty, which was signed neither by China nor by the U.S.S.R., will have to come into the picture and Japan will be compelled, even against the wishes of the U.S., to re-adjust her relations with these two powers. Indeed, it seems unlikely that Japan will be able to resist for long the political pressure from within and from outside, for a rapprochement with her two neighbours, China and Soviet Russia. She will be forced to do this, for it must be presumed that the Soviet Government will now concentrate on strengthening its policy towards Japan. This was foreshadowed by the Russian protests against the dissolution of the Far Eastern Commission, and against the continuation of U.S. bases in Japan. If Japan does not wish to become another Korea, she will do her best to establish amicable relations with both sides.

ASSISTANCE TO ASIA

By W. Drees (Prime Minister of the Netherlands)

ALMOST all over the world people are dying from diseases which could easily have been prevented or cured if modern medical knowledge had been applied. Innumerable human beings are badly housed, badly clothed and insufficiently fed, although toiling hard during a long day, whilst the use of modern methods and machines might have given them a much higher standard of living and more leisure.

In no country are all possibilities realised to the full. Even in the United States and Great Britain some areas are lagging behind and bad housing conditions sometimes are found in cities, famous for their wealth and rapid progress. Countries like the United States and Great Britain, however, can and will change that themselves gradually but energetically.

It is quite another thing in many other parts of the world. Often comparisons are made between the annual income per head in the United States and other countries. In the case of Asian or African countries the difference of course is enormous. It is true that the importance of that difference can be highly exaggerated. The population of primitive tropical countries need not be considered unhappy because they cannot afford to buy cars and television sets, or to build skyscrapers. They do not even have the same needs with regard to homes, clothing and food. But we all feel that it is a challenge to the more privileged nations, if the populations of large parts of the earth are living, as is the case, in shameful conditions of extreme poverty, if they are lacking the most necessary things of life, if they can be struck at any moment by famine or epidemical diseases, and if even in normal years the death rate is extremely high.

To more advanced nations it is a simple human duty to further the development of countries in more unfavourable circumstances.

In the end this will also serve their own interests, because too glaring contrasts will be a permanent menace to world peace and freedom. And for the whole world the raising of productivity in under-developed areas will bring an expansion of trade and greater prosperity.

The countries of the West need many raw materials from the East. Of course it would be a great mistake to regard the under-developed countries simply as a source of raw materials, or as a market for the products of the industrial countries. Long-range planning for economic expansion in their own interests is required, but to state openly that the aid which can be given will ultimately be advantageous to both parties, will make it easier to come to an understanding.

The difficulties are great. South-East Asian countries, which were until a short time ago colonies of Western nations, are often over-sensitive. They are afraid of being considered inferior and want to stand on their own feet. Even if they feel that financial aid and technical assistance from outside are absolutely necessary, they are suspicious that there may be a danger of a new economic imperialism.

On the other hand, the more developed countries have other difficulties. In former times private enterprise was willing to risk capital investments in colonial or semi-colonial countries, since these often brought large profits. In some cases the consequences were beneficial for the country and the population concerned, while in others the indigenous economy was disturbed without compensating advantages arising from the new forms of exploitation.

Gradually, with a growing feeling of responsibility towards colonial populations, or with the rise of national feeling in the dependent countries, the Governments by taxation of the oil industry, rubber and tobacco plantations and so on, found the means for a more rapid development of these areas in the interests of the inhabitants.

Moreover, while technical assistance and the supply of capital goods should promote economic stability, some political stability is necessary and only then will outside aid be of any use. The difficulties may sometimes seem almost insurmountable but they must be overcome.

Important steps have already been taken. One of the best known and most important special plans is the Colombo Plan. The relations existing between the countries of the Commonwealth may make it easier to give and to accept the necessary aid, while this cooperation will tend to strengthen the ties within the Commonwealth.

An interesting example of this cooperation is the offer made by Canada to Pakistan of a complete cement factory to be constructed near a large project. Machinery will begin to arrive this month and within 2 years the factory may be in full production. Rapid action of this kind by a country like Canada, far away from Pakistan, with no special interests there, must make a great impression. Equally important is the assistance given by the U.S.A. under Point Four.

These are examples of cooperation within a group of nations like the Commonwealth or of bilateral cooperation. We know that the United Nations, too, are working in this field through the Technical Assistance Administration, ECOSOC, UNESCO, and the World Health Organisation, while the FAO can be very useful in raising agricultural productivity.

In some cases technical assistance from the United Nations will be preferred because it has a universal charac-

ter and no political interests. It is a drawback that this technical assistance is not directly combined with possibilities of financing important development projects, though it can be useful in mobilising capital by its advice. In this respect the International Bank might be of growing importance.

In many parts of the world activity in promoting more rapid development is going on, but it is only a very small part of what should be done. It will be necessary to combine a general plan with different special plans. Capital investments will have to be found for transport, electricity, industry, and agricultural projects, and also for houses, hospitals, sanitary equipment and schools. Where after some time a profit may be expected, private capital may be forthcoming. In other cases grants from other countries may be necessary, but in the long run the advantages may outweigh the sacrifices involved.

A small country such as the Netherlands cannot at present contribute large sums for these purposes and must take into consideration that what it can do has to be used in the first place for the Overseas Territories, which

still form a part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. It can, however, put many able experts at the disposal of technical assistance schemes and it can also help in preparing Eastern students to undertake the tasks for which Western experts are needed at present.

All Dutch Universities have jointly founded the "Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation." Very soon this organisation will open an "Institute for Social Studies," which will engage in research work in the field of international relations and especially in the relations between peoples of divergent cultures. The whole field of higher education in the Netherlands is in the process of being adapted to the needs of international services especially for students from underdeveloped countries. The most ambitious project in this field is the "International Academic Institute," which will be exclusively devoted to international cooperation. Courses will be given in the English language by Dutch professors. In this way we make available the best we have to offer in the field of our own scientific and technical achievements.

A SOLUTION FOR KOREA

By Yongjeung Kim (President, Korean Affairs Institute, Washington)

THE failure by the great powers to consider one elementary fact has been the decisive factor in causing the present bloody imbroglia in the Far East. This fact is that no nation or nations are good or wise enough to control another people's destiny. Disregarding this fundamental truth, two antagonistic regimes based on foreign ideologies were set up in Korea. This error has spawned a miniature World War III.

An old Korean proverb says, "In a fight among whales the shrimp's back is broken." Today Korea is a mortally wounded shrimp. The whales of East and West, as they struggle for supremacy, show little concern over its survival. Yet the whales may destroy themselves unless they bow to the shrimp's right to live its own life.

Great Britain has had centuries of experience in dealing with the peoples of Asia and has shown progressive tendencies in recent years. Many of the lessons the British have learned through the years could well be applied now to restoring equilibrium in Asia.

The American Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, once pointed out the trends in the development of Asian nationalism: "One of these factors is a revulsion against the acceptance of misery and poverty as the normal condition of life. . . . The other common aspect that they have is the revulsion against foreign domination. . . . They say and they believe that from now on they are on their own. They will make their own decisions. They will

attempt to better their own lot and on occasion they will make their own mistakes. But it will be their mistakes and they are not going to have their mistakes dictated to them by anybody else."

Unfortunately, Mr. Acheson, now a prisoner of his critics, finds it extremely difficult to carry out a policy that will win all Asia, notwithstanding his profound understanding of the situation. Perhaps Great Britain is in a better position to take the lead in bringing about a rational solution?

At the time of writing eight months of haggling over the cease-fire negotiations have failed to stop the carnage. Neither side seems to realise that there can be no truce so long as vital Korean interests are ignored. Lacking mutual trust, they seek a minutely detailed, iron-clad agreement that merely perpetuates the division of Korea into two armed camps, putting the hot Korean potato into the deep freezer of the cold war once again.

A homogeneous nation cannot successfully be divided into a Communist outpost and a democratic dyke. Neither side seems to understand that no truce—regardless of how tightly it is agreed upon—is unbreakable, and that the war cannot be confined to Korea indefinitely. The embittered Korean people have a passionate desire to reunite their nation, economically and politically. They will attempt it at the first opportunity, with violence if necessary.

And now, as if the negotiations were not already vexingly protracted, new considerations are further delaying a truce. On top of the Communist intransigence, some in the West fear a settlement of the Korean struggle because it would free the Chinese Communists to attack Formosa, Indo-China, Burma or Malaya. But it must be remembered that continuation of the war ties down Allied, and not Russian forces in Korea. It would be unwise for either side to try to attach an Asia-wide settlement to Korean peace. When the key issue, the Korean problem, is solved, others may become less difficult to settle.

Let me digress to point out, for its own benefit, some of the glaring mistakes of the West. It is still too complacent, living in its old reflected glory.

If the nationalistic movements of the discontented Asian peoples are suppressed by force, the Soviet task of creating disorder and embroiling the West in the Asian upheaval becomes simple. All Russia has to do is to fan the flame of nationalism of the poverty-stricken, disgruntled peoples, and she makes herself appear as a friend and liberator. It seems, therefore, that Russia's strategy is to draw the West into armed struggles in the far fringes of Asia and elsewhere so as to avoid a direct war with the Allied powers. She is obviously seeking a bloodless victory, bloodless so far as Russia is concerned.

In this way Allied blood will flow and the nations which should be protected and befriended will be devastated. In the end the West will have lost not only its territories and allies, but its markets and raw materials as well—at a great cost in lives.

The Asians now refuse to be kicked around. They are out to rid themselves of official corruption and oppression, as well as foreign abuses and exploitation. They are determined to get more food, more clothing, better shelter and increased dignity, regardless of the consequences. To do so—however naively—they will accept assistance or advice from anyone who expresses sympathy for their cause, or they will espouse any "ism" that promises success. As President Truman said, "Stomach Communism cannot be halted with weapons of war."

As long as the West tries to stem this Asian tide by force or through corrupt and opportunistic reactionary groups—whose sole basis for support is vociferous anti-Communist protestations—it will lose support in the Far East. Actually, these "anti-Communist" regimes have alienated the great masses of the people through their harsh rule and corruption. That has happened in China and in South Korea. How much more proof does the West need?

The discredited regimes not only demand arms and material support but they want the West to fight to keep them in the saddle. They do not want peace. They want rule or ruin. Democratic prestige is being undermined by these parasites as much as by the Communists.

The peoples of Asia can still be won to the side of the democratic West, but it cannot be done by imposing

a set of rulers whom they detest. The West can secure their support—and share in their markets and raw materials—only by out-bidding and out-performing the Russians. That is easier than many think, because the West can (if it wants) offer deeds instead of mere words. But seeing is believing. For years Asia has heard about the benefits of democracy and the blessings of freedom. Unfortunately, the regimes that have been fostered as examples of the Western system have been unconvincing.

It is poor propaganda for the West to seek Asian help in collective security and defence projects while Russia—however falsely—advocates their liberation. Not until the Asians realise their right to national self-determination will they have faith in the West and appreciate the collective-security idea, for they have little to defend. In this struggle, you must win the minds of men.

As long as Korea lies in waste on the battlefield of the East-West struggle, the Asian peoples will not willingly join the Western security system, even though their reactionary regimes may do so.

The West can utilise the Korean situation to great advantage if it applies wisdom and statesmanship. I believe it can convert shattered Korea into a democratic showcase in the Far East. Let us examine briefly the geography of North-East Asia and the history of Korea. The Korean peninsula lies between the Yellow and Japan Seas, bordering Russian Siberia for about 11 miles and China for 800 miles, and separated from the Japanese mainland by 120 miles of water. Surrounded by these three big states she has had to play the role of a buffer.

As long as Korea was independent she was able to check Japanese encroachment towards the continent and Chinese expansion eastward. Thus, she maintained peace with reasonable success until the 19th century when she was weakened through misgovernment. Since then she has become a centre of political intrigue. Two wars were fought over her—the Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese. Each of these three powers wants to dominate Korea, but one country's control is considered a threat to others. This will always be true, regardless of changing political alignments. Now the West has entered the arena, with the United States replacing Japan and clashing with China and Russia.

Korea, in order to satisfy all her neighbours and to maintain peace in North-East Asia, must resume her former role of a buffer state.

In the face of this unchallengeable situation, the Allied powers should immediately announce unequivocally to the world, especially to the Far East, that they propose to neutralise Korea on the following basis:

(1) Dissolution of the two existing regimes and establishment of an all-Korea government through popular elections supervised by a judiciously balanced committee (perhaps composed of such nations as Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Mexico, Indonesia, Syria, Israel, India and Burma and/or others).

(2) Guarantee by members of the United Nations and China of the inviolability of Korean sovereignty and territorial integrity and a further pledge that they refrain from seeking any special privileges in Korea.

(3) Pledge by Korea of strict neutrality involving no special economic, political or military arrangements with any nation but the opening of her major ports to all nations on equal terms for commerce.

Actually, by prolonging the truce negotiations, the Communists have presented the West with its greatest opportunity to retrieve its political fortunes. Not to take advantage of this would be the crowning error. Therefore, the West, instead of jockeying with the Communists for a watertight armistice agreement to perpetuate the division of the country or for advantages in the cold war, should advocate immediate cessation of hostilities on simple, general terms to expedite the neutralisation of Korea. It should insist that a truce be negotiated with the view of

taking up the problem of Korean unification and independence for a final settlement by a peace conference of all parties concerned, called by the United Nations General Assembly, simultaneously with the signing of a cease-fire agreement.

Neutralisation of Korea would benefit all parties in the conflict. It would dispel the Chinese fear of renewed Japanese aggression and Russian flanking of their entire north-eastern border. Regardless of China's present political philosophy, her national interest is always her paramount concern. On the other hand Russia would feel secure from Japanese penetration towards her frontier, and Japan would be safer from Russian expansion. Furthermore, a neutral Korea would enable the United States and Great Britain to extricate themselves from undesirable entanglements in North-East Asia, and the United Nations would have accomplished its purpose by restoring peace and establishing a unified, independent Korea.

INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT CRISIS

By Andrew Roth

SOUTH Asia has recently witnessed a most significant but little noticed resurgence of neutralist feeling. It demonstrated that a pro-American foreign minister in a country with a professed independent policy cannot lean over too far to embrace American proposals without being unseated by popular feeling.

The Foreign Minister in question was Indonesia's Dr. Achmed Subardjo who was forced to resign on February 21—with the whole cabinet toppling two days later—as a result of Dr. Subardjo's secret acceptance of U.S. Mutual Security Administration aid. The resignation of the most pro-American government in Indonesia's 26-month history almost resulted in Washington recalling its Ambassador and policy-maker in Indonesia, Merle Cochran. Mr. Cochran, who has been Washington's skillful instrument in Indonesia since 1948, is said to describe himself as the "midwife of Indonesian independence." If so, he must now regard Indonesians as most ungrateful.

In Britain the *Economist* fully comprehended the impact of the cabinet resignation, stating on March 1 that "the events of the past month should be a warning to western statesmen that they cannot afford to force the hands of those who are willing to associate with them in Asia." For the rest, British opinion tended to underestimate the significance of the Indonesian crisis. *The Times* buried the fallen cabinet in six lines. *The Manchester Guardian*, which is usually sensitive to South Asian developments, minimised its implication and devoted only half an editorial to it.

The slight attention paid to Indonesian affairs here illustrates the continued Western tendency to ignore Asian developments until the final stages of an anti-Western crisis. When an Indonesian complained here recently that scarcely any space is given to his country in the British press, the answer was: "What Indonesia needs—to be news—is a good-sized Communist revolt."

Indonesia, of course, includes half the population and territory of strategically vital South-East Asia and more than half of its rich resources. It is the world's leading producer of natural rubber and second only to Malaya as a tin producer. These resources are important not only to the U.S.—which consumes half of the world's rubber and tin output—but to Britain as well. British investments in Indonesia are second only to those of Holland. In 1951 Britain's most substantial increase in export volume came from manufactured fats and oils—largely from Indonesian palm oil and copra.

Indonesia's resurgence of neutralism has already benefited Britain. Like Burma, which turned towards the Colombo Plan because it thought the acceptance of MSA aid would commit it too much in the "cold war," Indonesia, too, is turning to Britain as a "smaller devil." Although a substantial contract for training Indonesian civilian pilots, involving £1 million a year, was originally intended for an American firm, it has just gone to a British company.

The possible recall of Mr. Merle Cochran was suggested by a State Department official to the *New York Times'* Felix Belair (February 26). Although his recall

was officially denied, Mr. Cochran clearly under-estimated the strength of the Indonesian belief in the Nehru-influenced Arab-Asian school of "non-alignment" with either the American or Soviet bloc.

The passage of the Mutual Security Act by the U.S. Congress compelled the State Department to exact from those countries receiving military aid pledges to "help fulfil military obligations" to "defend the free world." After running into trouble in Persia, Burma and other countries, as well as initial resistance in Indonesia, the State Department thought it would be wise to offer Indonesia simply an economic aid agreement which does not entail these pledges. This was thought to suffice, since the contemplated \$8 million of aid to Indonesia would comprise a large proportion of economic and technical assistance and a relatively small proportion of arms to equip its constabulary. In a secret diplomatic dispatch Mr. Cochran is reported to have insisted that he could secure Indonesia's signature to a slightly re-worded pledge to support American policy. He insisted that dropping this pledge, after his prolonged secret negotiations with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, might lessen U.S. prestige in Indonesia.

Mr. Cochran, without being "dizzy with success," presumably felt he could mould Dr. Subardjo to his wishes in view of his previous successes with the recently-resigned Sukiman cabinet. This cabinet contained probably the most pro-American elements in Indonesian public life. Its Premier, Dr. Sukiman, and its Foreign Minister come from the right wing of the Masjumi (Islamic) Party, which is Indonesia's largest. This traditionalist wing tends to look outside Indonesia for support; strongly pro-Japanese during the war, it has become strongly pro-American in the post-war period. This policy has been opposed by the younger Natsir-Rum-Sjafruddin wing of the Party which favours the Nehru-like neutralist policy long articulated by Indonesia's Socialist leader Sutan Sjahrir. The outgoing cabinet was primarily a partnership between the pro-American right-wing of the Masjumi Party and the almost equally pro-American Nationalist Party (P.N.I.) According to diplomatic sources, the cabinet's position has been buttressed by President Sukarno who sees American help as the easiest way to modernise Indonesia and prove wrong the predictions of his Socialist critic and rival, ex-Premier Sjahrir.

Working with the Sukarno-Sukiman-Subardjo group, Ambassador Cochran has achieved an amazing number of successes, particularly in view of Indonesia's continued insistence that it refuses to align itself with either power bloc. Last May Mr. Cochran persuaded Indonesia to prohibit shipments of rubber to Communist China although Dr. Subardjo had insisted that Indonesia would "sell to the devil" to secure a good price for its rubber—42 per cent. of the world's natural rubber production. (Ceylon, which is not yet a member of the UN, has continued to sell to China.)

Mr. Cochran also scored an important success in persuading Indonesia to attend the Japanese Peace Conference and, later, to sign the Japanese Peace Treaty. This broke the semi-neutralist "Asian front" which Indonesia had previously maintained with India and Burma in resisting alignment with American policy.

The Sukiman cabinet again endeared itself to the American Ambassador last August when it arrested an officially announced total of fifteen thousand "trouble-makers," mostly Communists, including 16 M.P.s. This dealt a serious blow to the strongest labour federation, the Communist-controlled SOBSI. It also evoked the admiration of the British Embassy because it resulted in an almost immediate decrease in strikes on British-owned estates. The most hostile to this action was the Embassy of the People's Republic of China, which has scarcely attempted to conceal its disdain for the Indonesian Government and its proprietary interest in Indonesia's Communists who now look to Peking for leadership. Chinese diplomats have been making their presence felt in Indonesia in a manner which would not be conceivable, say, in India.

Indonesia's recent decision to settle the West New Guinea controversy with Holland by joint administration of that disputed territory until the sovereignty question is settled, may also bear Mr. Cochran's imprint. It was apparently first proposed by a member of the Indonesian delegation in Holland, who sought to avoid a breakdown of Dutch-Indonesian negotiations. But its acceptance by the Foreign Minister was probably eased by the fact that Ambassador Cochran was supporting a similar proposal in order to avoid an intensification of anti-Western feeling in Indonesia.

Obsessed, perhaps, by his struggle with the Chinese Embassy for predominant influence and encouraged by the obvious admiration with which he was viewed in top government circles, Mr. Cochran apparently underestimated the growth of resistance to the government's continuing pro-American policy. Thus, although the Masjumi Party voted by a small majority to support the signature of the Japanese Peace Treaty, the opposing minority included both ex-Premier Mohammed Natsir and ex-Foreign Minister Mohammed Rum. The Nationalist Party, Masjumi's cabinet partner, voted against it, as well as the left opposition, making it inadvisable to submit the treaty to Parliament. Dr. Subardjo was able to surmount opposition by promising great results from his policy in the form of Japanese reparations. But, after prolonged negotiations, Japan has recently offered to satisfy only about one per cent. of Indonesia's claims.

Last November the *New York Times* correspondent Tillman Durdin found that although "Indonesia's relations are far more extensive and friendly with the United States and other democracies than with the Communist nations," Indonesians still felt that "capitalist America is linked with Western 'imperialism'" because of U.S. support for

the French in Indo-China and the British in the Middle East. "Indonesians are afraid the United States, with its expanding influence in Asia, may represent a new manifestation of imperialism and that close Indonesian association with the United States might mean undue American control over Indonesian affairs."

Amongst the most hard-headed section of Indonesian officials an influential segment also resents Washington's attempt to "buy" Indonesian support at cut rates. Indonesia resents being considered only a fraction as important as Formosa. Typically, in the MSA's January 25 release of \$3 millions for five Asian countries, Indonesia received \$72,000 against Formosa's \$1,612,000. Furthermore, Indonesia's dollar-producing exports of rubber and tin dwarf the \$8 millions in annual aid offered by the U.S. Indonesia's officials would prefer to be able to buy the important material it needs. One Foreign Office official, for example, is furious that, after two years of trying, Indonesia has not been able to buy enough telephone equipment to conduct business efficiently in Djakarta.

The forces of pro-Americanism and neutralism came to a head-on clash in February. Both Mr. Cochran and Dr. Subardjo attempted to avoid public controversy. Dr. Subardjo negotiated with Mr. Cochran in secret without informing anyone in the cabinet, except the equally pro-American Premier, Sukiman. Neither the Vice-Premier nor the Defence Minister was consulted. On his side the American Ambassador also played a lone hand, refusing for three weeks to see the representative of America's Mutual Security Agency who was cooling his heels in Djakarta.

One of the things which subsequently infuriated Indonesian political opinion was the manner in which these negotiations were concluded. On January 5—three days before the January 8 deadline—the Foreign Minister accepted MSA aid. Although he apparently secured some important modifications of the required pledges, he kept even his acceptance a secret. Almost four weeks later a cabinet spokesman even denied Indonesia had accepted MSA aid. It was not until the Masjumi newspaper *Abadi* "broke" the story on February 5 that it became general knowledge, and even then it was denied on the following day by the Foreign Ministry spokesman.

For a fortnight the cabinet attempted to remain afloat despite the waves of public disapproval which broke about its head, both for the acceptance of MSA aid and the surreptitious manner in which it was accepted. Describing the situation as "serious" Mohammed Natsir convened a meeting of the Masjumi Executive Board. After two days of intensive discussion the Foreign Minister's party voted against accepting MSA aid, accusing him of having abandoned Indonesia's "independent foreign policy" and its "neutral" stand in the East-West conflict. The Greater Indonesia Party (PIR), annoyed that the cabinet of which it was a part had not been allowed to debate the decision, demanded Dr. Subardjo's resignation.

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The Nationalist Party reluctantly decided the whole cabinet must resign. The heated cabinet discussion of February 19 ended with the issue still "in dispute" with Dr. Subardjo apparently claiming that India, Burma and Ceylon had also accepted MSA aid. Actually they had accepted only technical aid under Point Four.

An attempt was made, with President Sukarno's blessing, to find a formula to save the cabinet and its policy. It was decided, in the words of *Pedoman*, to "throw the culprit to the lions." On February 21 the Foreign Minister's resignation was accepted. The controversy did not end there because other Masjumi ministers insisted on a full-fledged cabinet debate on American aid, with the decision being reported to Indonesia's appointed parliament. Instead, Premier Sukiman decided to submit his cabinet's resignation, leaving its acceptance of MSA aid intact.

In the midst of these frenzied manoeuvres the Indonesian Army's brilliant young Chief of Staff, Major-General T. B. Simatupang, asked in a newspaper article that Indonesia should decide whether it would continue to observe its "neutral" policy in a "negative" manner or attempt a "positive" policy which not only avoids alignments with major blocs but also helps to lessen world tensions. But even the friendliest observers doubt whether Indonesia can make a consistent contribution to world affairs without a responsible government firmly based on an elected parliament.

U.S. RELATIONS WITH CHINA

By Lewis Gen (Hong Kong)

DURING the 100 years after the Opium War, when the European Powers were all scratching for special spheres of influence in China, America alone remained comparatively non-aggressive, and was merely content with such privileges as came to her through the most-favoured nations clause in her first treaty with this country. In fact, she often took the lead in doing China many a good deed, which gave her a good reputation among the Chinese people. She was the first to return the Boxer indemnity to China, by which a large number of Chinese students were sent each year to America for higher education. This, added to the numerous schools, hospitals, and a great variety of other cultural and charitable organisations either run by American missionaries or supported by American money, gave America such a tremendous influence and high prestige in China, that for a while it looked as if the American way of living, and even the American way of thinking, might finally prevail among the Chinese people, especially those who were brought directly under American cultural influences.

There was another circumstance that made America appear particularly friendly to the Chinese people. Ever since the Sino-Japanese War of 1893-1894, Japan had become a constant menace to China, and after the occupation of Manchuria by Japan the hatred of the Chinese people for Japan was so great, that, to use a Chinese expression, they "swore never to live under the same sky" with the invaders. America upheld her traditional open-door policy in China, and declared herself against Japanese aggression. Although she was chiefly acting out of her own interests, this made America appear to be a champion of the independence of China. Furthermore, the democratic and humane character of the American people rendered them generally more popular than the Europeans, who seemed either imperious and militant, or even uncivilised. In those days America was represented in China largely by missionaries, teachers, and a small number of respectable traders, among whom were often found men of noble character and high ideals.

Nor was this heavy inflow of American influence unfruitful, for it did produce a small number of outstanding leaders, whose dynamic spirit, integrity and unselfish service distinguished them from most of their contemporaries in high places. There even came into existence a kind of Christian social reform movement, which not only launched a nation-wide campaign for popular education, but also sought to better the lot of the industrial workers in the main cities, and even tried to start a rural reform programme in the countryside. But unfortunately most of the American-educated would-be reformers were mere slaves to Americanism, being unable to free themselves from the "coffee smell." They would

themselves live like Americans among the Chinese people and tried to import into China a lot of things that were either frivolous or out of place. This proved distasteful and even disgusting to their fellow-countrymen and brought in a certain amount of adverse reaction.

Meanwhile there was developing a new centre of immense dynamic power which in a few years was to galvanise China. Confucian influence having lost its control over the minds of men, and Christianity having been found unsatisfying, restless young intellectuals were searching everywhere for a panacea that would cure China of her thousand and one ills. Strange theories of every kind, from Utopian socialism to anarchism, all found their way into China and had their votaries. But it was the Russian Socialist Revolution that gave the main impetus to China's New Cultural Movement in 1910. The nebulous nature of this movement soon reduced itself into an organised force, and boldly set itself against the feudal war lords and foreign imperialism. It worked up burning enthusiasm among the intelligentsia and its ideas quickly spread. Revolutionary literature was eagerly devoured by students of government schools throughout the country, and study groups sprang up overnight. It is true that this did not happen without the guiding hand of Russia behind the scene, but this guidance amounted to practically nothing compared with similar American efforts at propaganda. It is interesting to note that it was the students from government schools who took the lead in the movement, while those in the missionary schools generally remained inactive. By this time it already became clear that American ideology would have no chance to dominate the Chinese mind in the future.

As the movement rapidly transformed itself into an active force under the leadership of the young Chinese Communist Party, strikes in schools, factories and among the state communications workers became frequent. The war lords became alarmed, and began to take bloody measures against the young zealots, but found the movement had already spread too far and grown too deeply to be stamped out. Arrest, imprisonment, mass execution, burying alive, nothing could turn back the tempestuous tide. But of those who had witnessed the fully armed foreign police in Shanghai fire into the angry crowds of students on the Nanking Road on May 30, 1925, who could have foreseen that the foreign police, the foreign troops and foreign gunboats together with the foreign concessions would all be gone in 25 years! Part of the new movement, especially in South China, was absorbed into the Kuomintang in 1924, which gave the latter a new vigour; and it was this new blood that made Chiang Kai-shek march victoriously to the bank of the Yang-tse River in 1927, and liquidate half of the old feudal warlords.

It was only after Nanking was made capital of China by Chiang Kai-shek that American influence made itself felt in Chinese government. That the ancient stone-walled city was made the seat of the National Government was partly because North China was then still much in the hands of the warlords, and partly because Peking had long been under the sinister influence of Japan. The notorious 21 Demands had made the Japanese name so hateful to the Chinese people, that any government which played Japan's game would have quickly lost the support of the people. But, as Nanking was situated within the Anglo-American sphere of influence with Shanghai as the main entrepot of Central China, it was only natural that the National Government should have come more and more to rely upon America. This tendency was facilitated by the few American-educated men around Chiang Kai-shek, like T. V. Sung, and H. K. Kung, who were in turn followed by a big crowd of brokers and compradores. These rapacious men, suddenly finding themselves in the saddle of government, and supported by a dictatorship, simply considered their private interests. Therefore, in those days, apart from the endless, futile "bandit-suppression campaigns" of Chiang Kai-shek, little else was done for the country. This caused deep dissatisfaction among the people as well as among those warlords and politicians who did not belong to the Chiang Kai-shek's clique. At the same time, America became somewhat discredited in the eyes of the Chinese people. The Communists who were purged out of the Kuomintang in 1927 were already in arms against Chiang and his government and had it not been for the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, Chiang would have had many more civil wars to fight.

Discontent and dissension, however, were buried in the united front against the Japanese invaders, in which Chiang Kai-shek became the symbol of resistance. As the Japanese occupation extended wider and wider, conflict between America and Japan became sharper. Then the attack on Pearl Harbour definitely threw America on the side of China, after which American material and personnel was increasingly rushed into China. The Red areas in north-west China were, too, open to the American officials and journalists. In fact, American influence was so strong during the war in China, that on the strength of one word from General Hurley, then American Ambassador to China, Mao Tse-tung flew to Chungking to confer with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, his arch-enemy.

The Chinese people did not lack lively appreciation for American help during the war. After the surrender of Japan many people even wondered why a statue was not put up for President Roosevelt in memory of Sino-American friendship and co-operation during the War. Meanwhile the Kuomintang Government was fast becoming discredited in the eyes of the people. Hundreds of KMT officials turned to looting and robbing, and a few

months after the surrender of Japan a big share of the nation's industry and foreign trade went into the hands of four big families. Huge quantities of UNRRA supplies came over from America, but large portions either mysteriously disappeared on the way, or went into the pockets of those who handled them. Instead of an equitable taxation, which, of course, would have fallen on the powerful families, the government came to rely solely upon inflation. In the principal cities secret police and armoured cars became the sole instrument of government; and in the countryside requisitions of grains and forcible conscription of the poor peasants went on without ceasing. This was the government America had supported during the War; and this was the government she would still bolster up with seeming affection. The people began to look upon the U.S. Government with suspicion, but it was not until Marshall's mediation mission failed that the whole country burst into a general protest against America. Undoubtedly it was first inspired by the Communists, but it gave expression to what many people already felt and perceived.

In spite of its assistance the U.S. Government could not save Chiang's Government from final collapse. It would have been better both for China and America, if American support had stopped there. But not only did she continue to uphold Chiang's refugee regime in Formosa; she also placed America directly in opposition to China. Thus, following the requisition of the parade-ground of the U.S. Legation in Peking, she angrily withdrew all her consular officials from China. Then, after the outbreak of the Korean war, President Truman arrogantly and unjustly brought Taiwan under American protection. This was outrageous to China, comparable only with the occupation of Manchuria by the Japanese in 1931. In consequence of this, it did not need a prophet to tell us that a bitter conflict between the two countries would become inevitable; but who would have foreseen that in less than five months the Chinese volunteers would meet the American army in the Korean battlefield, when the latter were marching triumphantly towards the Yalu River?

The important question is, what makes the ruling class of America so bitterly opposed to the new China? The primary reason is that America wants China as a market. By collaboration with the small group around Chiang Kai-shek, America had already acquired heavy economic interests in China even before the War; and immediately after the surrender of Japan, China was virtually flooded with American goods. After the conclusion of the Sino-American commercial treaty, American business men enjoyed such exceptional privilege in China that they were envied by many traders from other countries. But America is fully aware that the Communists will never concede to her such special rights and, therefore, she would rather cling to the sinking ship than

take a realistic view of the situation. However, in spite of the Korean War and every obstacle she has put in the way of China's progress, China is still sweeping forward. Prices remain stable, production is increasing almost on every line; and what is particularly worthy of note, in less than two years China has turned itself into a country with a favourable balance of trade. If America were more realistic she would content herself with trading with China as with any other independent country, and she would find that China still needs many things that America can supply.

We have often heard it said that if Mao Tse-tung would only turn away from Russia, America would have no objection to the Communist regime in Peking, and might even give every kind of help there. This is wishful thinking. The Chinese Communist movement was originally inspired by the Russian Revolution, and most of its high cadres were educated or trained in Russia. The fighting techniques, as well as experience, were again borrowed from Russia. After the establishment of the People's Government in Peking the relations between China and the Soviet Union were further reinforced substantially by military alliance and economical ties. In view of all these, one will see no reason why China should turn away from Russia, unless she should seek self-destruction.

In conclusion, if America's objectives regarding China are as previously described, then the policy she is

pursuing has produced an effect exactly contrary to her purpose. As if the Korean War and the Taiwan affair were not enough trouble, she is further re-arming Japan against the wishes of nearly all of its neighbours. She has also imposed a general embargo on China which probably does less harm to China than to those countries who reluctantly follow her lead. It seems she has totally failed to realise that the fear of resurgence of Japanese militarism tends to increase China's military power; while the embargo can only drive China and the Soviet Union still closer. In view of this, one can hardly help thinking that much of the confusion and trouble in the Far East was caused by America's lack of foresight.

Although some people fear that the increasing Russian influence in China and the strong ties between these two countries might finally lead to the absorption of China by Russia, this fear is purely imaginary. If Russia should ever conceive such an evil design, she will certainly bring on herself the same consequences as the Japanese did. Again, if the Chinese Communist Party should so degenerate as to make itself a willing tool to serve foreign interests, it will as certainly lose the support of the people, be divided internally and die out as happened with both the former pro-Japanese Peking regime and the pro-American Nationalist Government. China is definitely no satellite of the Soviet Union; the relations between these two socialist states are evidently based upon a common ideology and mutual interests and even sheer necessities.

Former U.S. Secret State Documents Reveal Trend for Trade with China

By H. C. K. Woddis

THE question of trade with China is worrying many people with trading interests in the Far East, not only because of the problems that arose following the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic in October, 1949; nor merely the complications caused by the Korean war. Dominating the whole question is the attitude and policy of the United States Government towards its own trading relations with the Far East, and, even more so, towards the Far East trading policies of its present allies.

The United States Government has shown by the Battle Bill, by its virtual embargo on British trade with China, by the restrictions placed on Hong Kong, and by the pressure on Japan not to trade with its former main market, China, that it hopes to weaken the new Chinese Government economically in order to facilitate the Dulles policy of overthrowing this Government militarily and politically.

Ironically enough, however, this policy of the United States is having a serious effect not so much on China, as on Britain and Japan and is even affecting the United States itself, where the textile industry, for example, is

passing through the same sort of crisis that our own textile industry is facing here in Britain. It is for this reason that, in quite unexpected circles in the United States doubts are being raised as to the wisdom of this policy.

In America, of course, the record of the Truman Government in the Far East, the MacArthur incident, the election campaign of the Republican Party and the question of Chiang Kai-shek, arouse passions which to a visitor from Britain appear to border on the hysterical. A vast and lengthy debate on the whole question of the Far East has been shaking American political life for many months. One important result of this debate has been to make recently available to the public the proceedings of a State Department Conference, whose report had previously been classified as *Confidential*. This report is the *Transcript of Round Table Discussion on American Policy Toward China, Held in the Department of State, October 6, 7 and 8, 1949*. This 514-page report has been issued by the Department of State Division of Central Services, Washington, labelled *Confidential, Classification cancelled*. This

conference was attended by twenty-five businessmen, professors and others, whose deliberations were intended to act as guidance to the United States State Department on the question of policy toward China.

At this conference, two distinct and divergent policies emerged. On the one hand were those such as Harold Stassen, Republican aspirant to the Presidency of the United States, and George Kennan, the notorious "Mr. X" of the State Department. These two were advocates of what may be termed the "extreme" view; both strongly urged the creation of an American Empire in Asia, Stassen favouring Bangkok as the capital, and Kennan preferring a U.S.-controlled Japanese Empire based on Tokyo. There were others supporting these views, backing their arguments with a wealth of candid detail as to American policies and activities in the Far East.

More important, however, were the views expressed by another section—a section who were in favour of peaceful trading with China, irrespective of the character of its Government. The fact that leading American businessmen advocated these views two and a half years ago is of extreme importance for the present world debate on the future of Asia and the Far East.

These positive proposals for trade with China were opened up by Ernest B. MacNaughton, Chairman of the Board of the First National Bank of Portland, Oregon, and a leading American industrial figure:

"We will never get this world going until we start trade, and I would start trade with Communists in China until I found out they were impossible to do business with."

This banker's advice to the State Department was: "You let trade alone. As long as it makes a deal that is a deal that will stand up, we will take care of ourselves."

J. Morden Murphy, an official of the Bankers' Trust Company, a Wall Street bank with Morgan connections, took a similar stand. So did William R. Herod, President of the International General Electric, stressing:

"I have a very definite feeling that we should not discourage U.S. trade with China because its political government happens to be Communist except in so far as those particular war or strategic materials are concerned which might be used in a military sense against us. I think it would be most ill-advised to do it . . . I don't believe it would obtain a political objective of any greater security for the U.S. or following any objective of the U.S. there."

He went on to point out that despite the recent difficulties arising from the American blockade, his company, General Electric, had just shipped a power plant for a cotton mill on the Yangtse river: "The thing is there and we have received the dollars and I would be inclined to think that that would be a legitimate sort of thing to undertake and do."

These views found majority support at the meeting, despite the opposition of those like John D. Rockefeller III, who openly urged the cessation of trade with China for the specific purpose of creating economic difficulties for the new Chinese Government in order to discredit it and lead to its downfall. Mr. Herod replied to him on the basis of

his own experiences in China since the war which 'have indicated that the Chinese people, with whom I have had very many contacts, even though not Communists, are so fed up with the former Nationalist regime that they definitely want that out no matter what happens, and I don't think we should be hitching our wagon to a descending star on any ideological basis. I think we have to be bright and practical people . . ."

Mr. Herod was backed strongly by Mr. William S. Robertson, President of the American and Foreign Power Company, which owns the Shanghai Power Company. In a most significant contribution, Mr. Robertson read a letter from Paul Hopkins, his Shanghai manager:

"The authorities are all significantly honest, hard-working individuals, who live on the barest essentials of food and clothing . . . I have found them all intelligent, very frank in discussing problems, and most of them with a good sense of humour."

"There is no question but that it is a new type of people who, if not subject to outside pressure, will ultimately bring great progress to China."

"To my mind, the pessimistic future stems from the increasing breach which has developed between China and America. There are arguments on both sides, but, in my opinion, the passage of time has seemed to confuse the issue and eliminate realistic thinking which bodes ill for everyone . . . The almost daily bombing activity of the K.M.T., and the increased miseries caused the Chinese people by those activities against non-military objectives constantly irritate an open sore. Grant it to be un-Anglo-Saxon to deny an ex-war partner, but evidence would seem adequate that that partner has for several years served its people so ill that it has been rejected by its own people. America is now contributing indirectly to the miseries of those people. Recognition should be withdrawn (from Chiang Kai-shek) and the blockade of the coast broken."

These voices, powerful as they are, have not been followed by the U.S. Government. Instead it has increasingly followed the views put forward by Stassen, Rockefeller, Dulles. Nevertheless, the present critical situation in the Far East, which the recent debates in the House of Commons have done nothing to allay, only serves to emphasise the importance of the British people being aware of the fact that even in the most influential quarters in the U.S. there have been people anxious to maintain peaceful relations and trade with China despite its change of Government in 1949.

These views are still making themselves heard in America. Of course, not all of those who held such views in 1949 hold them now. But, on the other hand, many who were against trading with China in 1949 are beginning to change their minds.

The importance of the recent publication of these formerly secret 1949 State documents is that it shows how high up in American life has this anxiety and concern about relations with China been expressed. It is exactly for these reasons that those in Britain favouring a strengthening of trade relations with China should appreciate that their efforts in that direction may well find allies where they otherwise would not expect them.

The Afghans and International Politics

By "Sarhaddi"

CLOUDS are gathering ominously over the North-West of the Indian sub-continent along the Durand Line, the one great international frontier of the Commonwealth: the Western Powers may be compelled to intervene to prevent a threat to world peace. Responsibility for the trouble lies mainly with the Afghan authorities, but nevertheless it is shared undoubtedly by India as will appear later.

Soon after it became clear, five years or so ago, that India would be divided between Moslem and Hindu, a movement was set on foot in Kabul for the recovery of the lost provinces of the Afghan Kingdom, including the North-West Frontier province and its tribal hinterland, Sind and Baluchistan, in other words the country between the Afghan boundary and the Indus. The claim is based mainly on the fact that the Durand Line, reluctantly accepted by the then Amir in 1893, shuts off the bulk of the Pathan tribes (seven millions of them) from association with what is really their national government in Kabul; they do not and have never belonged to India, ethnically or by tradition. At the same time the Afghan Government repudiates the idea of annexation of the country referred to: all it wants is that these seven million Pathans should be given the opportunity of deciding their future political orientation: if there is a majority vote for independence a new republic with the title of Pathanistan should be constituted.

Now Pandit Nehru and Congress politicians generally, for years before the break-up of the Indian Empire, had been intriguing in the Frontier province in the hope of capturing the allegiance of the Pathans. They saw clearly enough that the adhesion of the North-West Frontier to India would be a death blow to any Moslem State that might be evolved on partition. Congress activities were so far successful that when, early in 1947, partition seemed inevitable, a Congress government under the Khan Brothers, leaders of the revolutionary group known as the Red Shirts, was functioning precariously in the provinces. Needless to say, the Red Shirts, though they did not openly proclaim it, were out for independence, not for absorption in a Hindu Empire. But the Congress position was a threat to the scheme of Pakistan; Mr. Jinnah demanded and obtained a plebiscite of the settled districts of the Frontier and the result was that all, including British Baluchistan, voted for a Moslem State. Later, after partition, the semi-independent tribes of the mountain hinterland between the Durand Line and the administrative border pledged allegiance to Pakistan under the conditions prevalent during the British regime.

The Pakistan Government naturally rejected outright the Kabul proposition. But the Afghan ruling family would accept no refusal. Throughout the past four years the authorities at Kabul have abused and libelled the Pakistan Government to the world at large through the radio and the official press. Pakistan, it is asserted, is the handmaiden of Britain and acting against Moslem interests all over the world: Pathans under Pakistani administration are living in fear and misery and it is alleged that Afghan trade has been paralysed by a blockade imposed by the Pakistan Government. The ill-will of Kabul was shown by the solitary vote of the Afghan representative against the inclusion of Pakistan in the United Nations. Practically all Moslem States have expressed sympathy with Pakistan in her quarrel with India over Kashmir. Kabul on the other hand supports India. In disregard of strict diplomatic convention the Afghan embassies in Britain and India have used those countries as a base for political warfare against Pakistan. The Afghan Ambassador in Delhi, Sirdar Najibullah Khan has been particularly active in the campaign of abuse—he has written articles in the Indian press and recently sponsored, in Delhi, a so-called *Jirgah* or conference of emigres from the Afghan frontier, an action little short of encouraging sedition against the Pakistan regime.

Field Marshal Shah Wali, a member of the Afghan ruling family, who represents his country in London has made it clear in public utterances that the Afghans will not rest till Pathanistan is a *fait accompli*: he gave a reception at the embassy in September to celebrate what he called "Pathanistan Day" and announced recently that if Pakistan kept up its intransigence he would appeal to the United Nations. Altogether the attitude of Kabul towards Pakistan verges on a state of war.

And India? For centuries the fear of invasion from the North-West has been a nightmare for the Hindus. It faded into oblivion with the setting up of British military power in the sub-continent. With that power gone the danger might be renewed: if Afghans and the Pakistan Moslems got together they might ultimately bring about a holy war against the, for them, pagan Hindu. There is ferment throughout the Moslem world and Islam is regaining some of its old militancy: a movement against Hindu Delhi might attract Moslem support in many quarters.

Whether or not India anticipates these possible dangers is not clear. As a member of the Commonwealth she might not unreasonably be expected to discourage the Afghan efforts to disrupt Pakistan. She has done nothing of the kind. While not openly supporting Afghan preten-

sions political India has shown in many ways that the idea of Pathanistan has a strong appeal. Thus Indian newspapers have reproduced the fulminations of the Kabul radio and press; the activities of the Afghan embassy have not attracted official criticism and a treaty of friendship and trade has been concluded between the two countries. One wonders whether Hindu politicians really believe some of the things they have said recently on public occasions suggesting cultural and ethnic relations between Hindus and Afghans and the existence of close ties of friendship between them before imperialist Britain appeared on the Indian scene. Have they forgotten, one might ask, the devastating irruptions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali with their hordes of bloodthirsty Afghans in 1739 and 1756 followed by half a century of harsh Afghan rule over much of the Punjab?

The "secular" Indian Government is spending vast sums on rebuilding the historic Hindu temple of Somnath in Kathiawar destroyed nearly a thousand years ago by the Moslem emperor Mahmud of Ghazni. As a gesture of friendship, the Afghan Government has offered to restore the temple portals carried off by the Afghan invaders. Another gesture is the establishment of a chair of Sanskrit at Kabul University.

The Pakistan Government naturally sees in the *rapprochement* between Delhi and Kabul an "unholy alliance" between them aimed at weakening Pakistan by keeping the border in a state of ferment. Political circles in Karachi comment that conditions bordering on revolution are developing in Afghanistan, and the claims put forward for a new Pathan State are, it is thought, designed to distract attention from popular grievances. There has been no blockade; Afghan foreign trade through Pakistan is recovering from the slump caused by the collapse of the American market for karakul two or three years ago. There is a large export of dried fruits to India on which, it is said, India is levying a heavy duty, the proceeds of which she hands over to Kabul to help in the Pathanistan propaganda.

Afghanistan is the weakest link in the scheme of defence against Communism from Delhi to Cairo. Her politics and economy are unstable, there is a good deal of unrest and the dynasty is not widely popular. Unless conditions improve the country might drift into chaos, a gift to the Kremlin. In the economic field, Afghanistan with many undeveloped resources, is the most backward of all Moslem States.

It is imperative that Britain and the U.S.A., supported, one might hope, by Turkey, should bring diplomatic pressure to bear on the Afghan Government to induce it to give up its dream of Afghanistan *irredenta*. The people of Pakistan feel that they are entitled to British Commonwealth support both at Kabul and Delhi: disappointment has encouraged the extreme Left to demand that Pakistan should leave the Commonwealth and turn



Kabul Street Scene

to Russia. That is unlikely, but the possibility should influence the diplomatic thought of the West. In any case it is obviously necessary in the interests of peace to bring Pakistan and Afghanistan together as well as to settle the Kashmir quarrel. It would be a triumph of Western diplomacy if India could be induced to support a Western move in Kabul. With a settlement in Kashmir Pandit Nehru might of his own accord revise his Afghan policy.

The key to the solution of the trouble between Kabul and Karachi lies in the economic development of Afghanistan. That would ward off the threat of chaos and help to strengthen the position of the present regime. For this the Afghans must look both to the West and Pakistan; they can expect support from neither until they forswear Pathanistan and align themselves with the West. Pakistan is only too anxious to make peace with and to help her unfriendly neighbour and America has helped already with a loan of \$20 million through the Export-Import Bank, but it is doubtful whether it has been spent to the best advantage. But given the desired change in the political mentality of Kabul help should be renewed on a substantial scale.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN MALAYA

By Charles Gamba (Singapore)

FOR many years the Malay peasant has suffered from a number of disabilities vis-a-vis the other ethnic groups within the Federation. In the economic field he has been faced with those problems which are still common to all Asian primary producers, while in other spheres—in trade and commerce—the financial leadership and power have aggregated in the hands of non-Malays.

Today—if one assumes that the “emergency” will eventually cease—there is a faint hope that these difficulties, obstacles and disabilities may be counteracted to an increasing extent by the recently created Rural and Industrial Development Authority (RIDA). RIDA is the brain-child of Dato Onn bin Ja'afar, the present Member for Home Affairs in the Federal Government. The Authority became a living institution after a number of discussions sponsored by the Commissioner General for Malaya. It is understood that a good deal of bargaining took place and a number of citizenship boons were exchanged for the improved economic status of the Malays. Those attending the discussions were Chinese, Indian, Malay and European leading political personalities. It may nevertheless be added that the Federal Government—according to the views of the Chinese and Indian groups—is showing too much favour to the Malays while not satisfying the aspirations of the other ethnic communities as to their Federal citizenship status. This is an involved question—both political and economic—indissolubly related to the problem of communalism. Here one simply wishes to mention the existence of this background to any friction between the three Asian groups just mentioned.

According to official pronouncements, RIDA is an instrument designed to utilise the services and resources of governmental departments as well as those of all ethnic groups—but particularly those of the Malay villager. Initially “it was hoped . . . that the mistrust of the Malays towards non-Malays could be overcome and the task of building a united Nation would be made to that extent easier.” How far this aim has been achieved cannot as yet be said.

With its slogan of “self-help” RIDA finds its original impetus in the kampong. The village people are expected to formulate their own development plans via the kampong Development Boards. The penghulus and ketua-kampong—the traditional village leaders—then represent the people at these meetings and discuss all matters with the local RIDA official. Through what is considered in some quarters as a top-heavy administrative machinery, suggestions reach the executive in Kuala Lumpur and decisions percolate back to various villages. On the

other hand, with the present inexperience of both the villagers and leaders it is difficult to see how greater decentralisation would be possible. Nevertheless, this is intended to take place at some future time.

The two main functions of RIDA are to plan and execute specific schemes for rural economic development and to organise the rural population for economic and social betterment. The participation of the producer in the processing and marketing of the crops is considered to be one of the principal aims of the Authority.

It must be understood that the most important economic unit in Malaya is not the European planter nor the Indian and Chinese trader and merchant, but the Malay smallholder. He works on an area of land varying in size from three to ten acres—the official definition includes smallholdings up to a hundred acres. Since he began producing rubber, the Malay grower has been prevented by policies—from his viewpoint—economically unsound, to achieve a higher standard of living. For instance, officially or covertly he has found it most difficult to obtain permission to plant new areas of land under rubber. Or, the terms of trade have been against him when he has attempted to market rice and other crops. Finally, he has been exploited by the other groups and made to pay the price of ill-conceived one sided schemes—as in the case of the share certificates of 1939-40.

The Malay villager has quite often voiced his dissatisfaction with the lack of contact between the kampong and the Government. Furthermore, the ketua and the penghulu have become ever more involved in red tape and form-filling and less concerned with the live issues within their own areas. In other words, they have lost contact with their people and their traditional authority has thereby suffered. RIDA intends to help in the reorganisation of village administration by training the village leaders to be effective officials within an environment which is no longer static. By so doing it hopes to make the villages more vocal but in the sense of educating them, and their leaders, to become more modern and efficient units within the entire Federal structure. An improved village administration will undoubtedly help to solve many of the smallholders' problems which range from the difficulty of obtaining short-term credit to inability to carry on under the existing rising costs.

A block vote of S\$5 million was granted in 1951, and repeated in 1952, to provide for RIDA purposes. While this Authority, for the while, gives preference to co-operatives when granting loans, it nevertheless has already taken steps to help on a wider scale. Loans have been given to States within the Federation—for instance, to

Kelantan to build bridges at Pulau Pisang and Pagar Raja. The Department of Cooperative Development, which functions in conjunction with, as well as independently of RIDA, has offered small loans to individual smallholders. In this case the necessary finance has been raised within the farming group itself. This is also another way of solving the problem of credit needed by the padi grower to carry him over from one season to the next.

Much more still has to be done but the "emergency" does not allow for the shift of skilled administrative personnel from certain branches of the Malay Civil Service to the help of RIDA. On the other hand, inter-State jealousies and rivalries to a certain extent hamper the functions of the Authority. At the end of 1951, of S\$430,000 allowed to the States, not one dollar had been expended since the States were unable to present schemes sufficiently reasonable to be put into operation.

Nevertheless, RIDA is making progress—even if at a very slow rate. Its help has already born fruit. Last December a number of penghulus and ketua-kampong completed an eleven-day training course during which they received general instruction on improved methods of crop-planting and husbandry. They were also shown labour-saving equipment in action, such as ploughs and harrows. Special small tractors have also been bought and rented by the Authority to padi planters to work their land. Rubber smallholders will eventually be helped with capital for re-planting new trees, while other schemes include developments in animal husbandry, fisheries, industry, transport and communication.

The RIDA development programme, as already mentioned, is based on the principle of self-help which means that the villager is expected to contribute in free labour, materials or cash towards a project initiated with funds from the Authority. Already 167 projects have been approved. Of these, 41 are in actual operation. As against RIDA's own expenditure of about S\$87,000 one can place S\$122,000 contributed through self-help.

In conclusion, once RIDA has become fully effective it may be one of the most successful instruments yet devised by which to raise the standard of living of the Malays. The point that it was created locally by individuals has far greater importance than many people would think. The RIDA plan is not involved nor flamboyant—it does not introduce any of those clichés with which Western plans are overburdened. Unlike these it is already working without bringing in the question of expatriated personnel and foreign profits. Thus, in this part of the world, it has a far greater chance to succeed than any Western-inspired blue-print. It does not immediately create in the mind of the individual the query: "... it is Western-inspired. ... What will it cost me?"

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The Authority is nevertheless still weak. Locally, some people think of it as a potential source of strength to Dato Onn's fight for leadership on the Malayan political stage. This might or might not be true. A Malay leader is definitely needed and if the cooperation of the kampong people can be obtained to strengthen Dato Onn's hand—why not? The Dato is far more clear-sighted than his opponents within the Sultan's group, on the one hand, and UMNO, on the other, give him credit for. He might be wealthy in his own right but certainly he has never trafficked in opium or women and his private life is beyond reproach.

Organisation, in Malaya, is badly needed at the lower levels of urban labour and the kampong people. The standards of living are definitely higher than anywhere else in Asia, but still compare most unfavourably with those of the West. RIDA is a far more practical scheme than any developed at the present moment in Asia by Asian or Westerners. Through it, eventually, standards of living will be raised, education expanded and exploitation reduced. The political nexus—be it existing or potential—is of minor importance. No single Asian movement, whatever its character, can today be severed from the political aspirations of the people. But the kampong people think first in terms of their ever-present problem of economic security. RIDA is created to hasten its solution.

FROM ALL QUARTERS

New Indonesian Premier



Premier Wilopo of Indonesia (centre) with President Soekarno (left) and former Premier Soekiman, after being sworn in last month

Asian Students in Australia

RECOGNITION of Australia's rapidly-growing importance in the Pacific area is shown by the fact that nearly 2,000 students from Asia are taking advanced courses there. These students and graduates are enrolled at Australian universities, teachers' colleges and technical schools or are gaining technical knowledge in Government departments and libraries or in private industries and institutions. Educational and technical assistance is part of Australia's contribution to Asian countries to promote the friendship and goodwill of her neighbours. Many students are in Australia under the Colombo Plan, UNESCO, Australian Government and other scholarship schemes, and some have gone there independently.

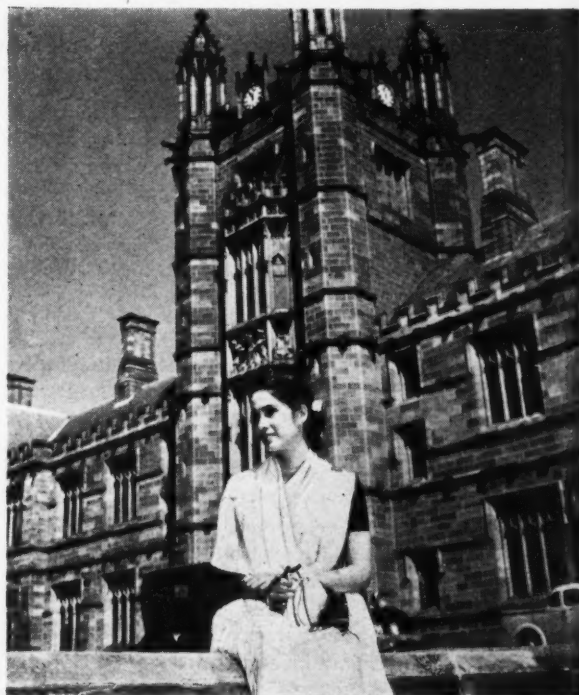
Australian universities have made notable contributions in the fields of technological, medical and scientific research during the past 50 years, and Australia is now an important centre of higher education for Asian students. Increasing numbers of women students from Asia are going there mainly to study medicine, teaching nursing and social service. Women are well-catered for in Australian universities and have their own boarding col-

leges, union houses, sporting and social groups. In addition, there are many university cultural, political, social and sports clubs for both men and women. The University of Sydney has Asian students in its 10 faculties. More than 100 years old, it is one of the most noted in the British Commonwealth.

Miss Ruth Gideon, of Dharwar, India, is typical of the Asian student now going to Australia. An honours graduate in Arts of Dharwar University College, which is affiliated with Bombay University, Miss Gideon went to Australia in 1951. Having gained a Diploma of Education in Sydney, her object is on her return to India next month to obtain a Master of Arts degree at Bombay University. She is undertaking kindergarten work.

Kindergarten work and child care are highly developed in Australia, and an Institute of Child Health has been established by the Australian Federal Government in the School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine at Sydney University. The primary object of the Institute is to reduce the death rate among children.

During her stay in Australia Miss Gideon has been an observer at the specialised Lady Gowrie Child Centre in Sydney, which is one of six similar centres in each State to demonstrate modern child-care methods.



Miss Gideon relaxes between lectures at Sydney University



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Letters to the Editor

Anglo Indians

DEAR SIR,—From John Stephen's article "The Anglo Indian Exodus" in your last issue, it is clear that he is not an Anglo Indian and knows very little about our past and our educational system. It has always been the fiction writer's delight to sneer at the "mean white" and "half white." But since leaving India I feel that we Anglo Indians do not compare unfavourably with Americans, Australians and middle-class Britons in our own station in life nor in education or conduct. In education indeed we who have been at boarding schools in India run on English public school lines, but more cheaply, are in general better educated than our opposite numbers in other lands, and certainly better educated than Indians who have not been at Anglo Indian schools. For the Anglo Indian school, usually run under missionary auspices, offered training in character and the art of living with others like civilised beings besides classroom instruction, whereas the Indian school and college offered nothing more than cramming for exams. Our schools had far better sports amenities and extra-curricular activities and well-to-do Indians gladly paid double fees to get their children enrolled. Fellow boarders of mine have been Indian princes and the sons of ministers, etc.

Of the record of the community I may say that without us the hard work of manning the railways of India in the early days, when educated Indians disdained such low manual work, would not have been accomplished. The same with nursing—till the war about 95 per cent. of India's trained nurses were Anglo Indians, drawn from a community of 250,000 in a continent of 400 millions! In our early years we held high

offices under the East India Company, until a rising by half castes in the East Indies caused the British quite unjustly to take fright and to bar us from higher posts in their service. In recent years even, there have been famous men but they have not always been known as Anglo Indians. Eardley Norton, India's greatest criminal lawyer is one of them.

Why did we leave India? Well, I was fed up because the new bosses could not leave well alone. In four years after taking over the railways the system of classes of passenger travel on my railway line was changed three times. Think of the labour involved in working out new rates, etc. Then think of the people who resented seeing others promoted because they had uncles with influence in the Congress Party. I know a man, now in London, who gave up when a Sikh subordinate of his, whom he had reported for malpractices, was actually promoted over his head to be his boss. Life was made hard—and countries like Britain have some use for those of us who are trained for jobs and willing to work.

London, S.W.1

ANGLO INDIAN

What's In A Name?

DEAR SIR,—Will anyone tell me why people look at me as if I were an escaped prisoner whenever I use the word "Asiatic"? Who decreed that the word should be "Asian" and when? And I should like to know if it is O.K. to call a "Burmese" a "Burnian"—or should it be the other way about? The folk from Siam once asked to be called "Thailanders" but don't seem too choosy nowadays. Are the Javanese still Javanese or must they be Indonesians—a word that I think smacks of Indian colonialism. Of course you can't talk of John Chinaman these days; he seems to have vanished from sight with his load of silks as he has vanished from our vocabulary.

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BOOKS on the

The English Factories in India 1670-1677 Vol. II
(New Series) by SIR CHARLES FAWCETT (Oxford University Press, 42s.)

The second instalment in the new series *English Factories in India* relates only to the East Coast and Bengal establishments during the same period which the first volume covers for the Western Presidency. It includes practically the whole period of the governorship of Sir William Langhorne at Fort St. George (he was officially designated the Agent at Fort St. George).

The outstanding feature of this resume of East India Company history is the skill with which Langhorne contrived to hold his position under conditions of great difficulty. The French had a foothold at San Thome a few miles south of Fort St. George and, as England and France were for the time allied against the Dutch, Langhorne kept on good terms with the French Admiral de la Haye. At the same time he officially maintained a policy of neutrality so as not to offend the Nawab of the Carnatic who joined the Dutch in the successful effort to starve the French into surrender. Langhorne weakened the influence of the Dutch at the Golconda court, he kept Madras relatively free from the dissensions which were a feature of Masulipatam and the Bengal factories and the evils of private trading were not as great at Madras as elsewhere. The Governor set an example of tolerance by the firing of guns to mark the opening of a Roman Catholic Church but this action was not approved of by the Company. He was somewhat arrogant in his answers to various charges, including that of corruption, but the fact must be recognised that he rendered sterling service to Madras, even if the other establishments under his charge were allowed to deteriorate.

This was very much the case in Masulipatam where three successive chiefs of the factory had to be dispensed with and at one time in 1674 business came to a standstill.

In Bengal it was the same story of insubordination and quarrels, while the demands of the Mughal and his officials paralysed trade in several factories. The possibility of a temporary withdrawal from the Bay was even discussed by several senior factors.

Sir Charles Fawcett's carefully prepared history of the factories is a very valuable document for the light it throws on the early years of the first settlements. Job Charnock was Chief of the Patna factory. Calcutta was still unborn, though there were factories at Hugli and Balasore. The factors were a long way from the day when they would become administrators. The surprising thing is that in spite of their quarrels they should have been able to build up a position of great strength when the Imperial power broke up only a few decades later.

FARRUKHSIYAR

FAR EAST

East and West by F. T. CHENG (*Hutchinson*, 16s.)

Dr. Cheng always felt that for him Great Britain was a second home. He came here as a young man with all a student's difficulties in making ends meet, yet determined that his efforts should be rewarded by his achieving such honour as would warm the hearts of the family at home. Details of his early life show how great were these efforts, how tiring his struggles, how valiant his spirit; he finally achieved the distinction of being the first Chinese to carry off the coveted LL.D. degree from the University of London. On his return home his success was duly appraised by those he had left behind some years before; we enter into his feelings as he meditates his next step, always feeling that pull exerted by the land of his adoption, the lure of London felt by so many who came first out of mere curiosity and stayed as devotees. Under all the simple narrative flows the steady stream of the Confucian ethic; nowhere is the Confucian philosophy mentioned but the perceptive reader can here see a life informed by it, a career built by and upon it, the ever-widening horizon unrolling itself before the man whose standard of life it is. Well might a reader say on putting the book reluctantly aside: "Now I see how it is that the Chinese have persisted throughout the centuries."

NEVILLE WHYMANT

Seven Summers by MULK RAJ ANAND (*Hutchinson*, 9s. 6d.)

Mulk Raj Anand can be relied on to write interestingly and to bring his characters to life for the reader. In his tale of an Indian childhood—a tale which I strongly suspect has more than a little of his own early autobiography in it—he tells of happenings in an old Indian cantonment among people of whom most readers in the West hear little. These are the soldiers' families, the host of followers of the army that have nothing to do with actual fighting and campaigning, the clerks, munshis, instructors and others who come in for little more than a half pitying, half contemptuous reference in the memoirs of retired generals. The story is told vividly, sometimes I feel a trifle too vividly, which is a pity for it makes it rather difficult to recommend this book to an English child wanting to learn something of children in other lands. The English translations of swear words in Hindustani that refer to such delectable subjects as incest; references to the marital infidelity of the hero's uncle and to the brutality of his parents' relations and his mother's chronic pregnancies—these may be very true of some Indian families, but one feels they are hardly a good advertisement for Indian family life which is, after all, blessed by many very wholesome features and a greater sense of devotion than one would gather from Mulk Raj Anand's book.

BERNARD FONSECA

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**Books on the
Near and Far East****SEND FOR FREE CATALOGUE****The Dam** by RICHARD HUNTER (*Constable*, 12s. 6d.)

UNRRA's work in China has never been properly recorded. Perhaps it is too late. Official records gloss over the mistakes, gross mishandlings and behind-the-scene struggles with the worst of best intentions, and the necessary details are buried in the memories of individual participants. Richard Hunter has tried to resurrect the details of one episode, the building of the Yellow River dam, from (one is certain of it) his own memory, setting out his knowledge as fiction.

Any novel on the China of the immediate past must be judged both as novel and as record of dramatic history. Unfortunately *The Dam* does not succeed as a novel. Its characters are poorly developed, the relations between foreign relief workers and Chinese are over-simplified and lack sensitivity. Not till the last third of the book does the account of the Allied Relief Administration's efforts to build a dam across the Ming River (for ARA read UNRRA; for Ming, read Yellow) and the determination of the Supreme Commander and his dependent warlords to use the dam as an ace in the civil war and divert the flood waters into Communist-held territory come alive and carry the reader with it.

But as a record of a phase of UNRRA work it has its value. "The trouble is," says the hero, "that because we are mostly Americans, what the ARA does is inseparably linked in the minds of the Chinese with U.S. policy." True enough, but Mr. Hunter could have

elucidated. This is a pity because, with his obvious knowledge of its inner workings, and dipping his pen in anger a little more often, he might have made us realise just how tragic UNRRA's role was, and how its entanglement added corruption to corruption, until from being a hope it became yet another thorn in the side of a desperate people. To be fair to him, however, he does draw a recognisable picture of one of those degrading involvements in civil war which were common to UNRRA's career in China and made the word "relief" a synonym for dishonesty in the China of 1945-49.

PETER TOWNSEND

Formulation and Economic Appraisal of Development Projects (*U.N. Publications. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 35s.*)

These two volumes contain lectures delivered at the "Asian Centre on Agricultural and Allied Projects" held in Lahore, Pakistan, towards the end of 1950. They are published exactly as delivered and contain valuable information on such diversified topics as grain storage, multi-purpose river schemes, technical assistance for backward areas, waterlogging and fishery development. Great credit is due not only to the International agencies concerned (FAO, UN, and the International Bank) but also to the Government of Pakistan, which was associated with them in sponsoring the Centre, and which provided the arrangements for practical work and opportunities for seeing development schemes at work. This publication is likely to be a valuable reference and text book for future international and national training centres and courses on development projects and this should amply justify its production. The library of reference materials put together for the Centre and left with the Pakistan Government will be of considerable use to students and research workers from all parts of Asia.

ARGUS

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

THE turn of the year, the budget and the elections have brought forth a spate of highly critical comment in the Indian press on the way in which things have been managed in the country. And it is refreshing to see that there is a growing awareness of the need for realism.

The *Eastern Economist*, which I have in the past regarded as a Birla-owned rubber stamp for the endorsement of Congress policies, had this to say in its special Budget Number: "The Finance Minister might have been totally unaware of elements of violent discontent in the country and of the large array of middle-class disillusion. A Budget is a reflection of the state of the country on the economic side; the results of the elections reflect the the political outlook. Can it be that the financial side is so cheerful while the political side is making people sit

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up fiercely and think?" The writer goes on to refer to the danger of mistaking the opulence of the Central Government for the prosperity of the people.

When a body called the Employers' Association in Calcutta produces a brochure on the working of state enterprises in India, one knows what to expect. But when they give figures showing the wastage and inefficiency of badly planned enterprises one has to take notice. Thus the Sindri Fertiliser plant lately completed has cost over twice the original estimated outlay. This might have been due to changes in price levels, but the remarkable fact is that a private company in Travancore were able to get a fertiliser plant going in the short space of two years—years of great industrial unrest and high prices—and to show results and develop production of sulphuric acid not provided for in the original estimate and, with all this, did not exceed their original estimate. The Employers' Association refers to wastage in the river valley schemes, electricity and telephone undertakings, the newsprint plant, prefabricated housing factory, and the collieries.

Two points strike one forcibly in an article on the Republic of Korea appearing in the *Fortnightly*. Firstly the writer suggests that Syngman Rhee is more widely accepted as a national leader than is generally supposed. It seems that most of the Koreans, and even many in the Communist zone, regard him as the spokesman for the whole country. He is anxious to get popular confirmation of this by amending the constitution to allow of his direct election by the people. And the loyal support he has received from the police has not been bought or due to the backing of the former American Military Government, which indeed favoured his rivals for office. It has been due to his uncompromising opposition to the Communist enemy and his avoidance of resorting to political assassination and violence. Secondly, the writer analyses the possibility of future United Nations aid to Korea. The country has a keen appreciation of efficiency and a devotion to education which leads him to hope that a handful of first-class advisers may be able to reorganise the administration and economy of the country. Unhappily he does not suggest when this will be possible.

It is good to see that troubled Indo-China can find time for cultural achievements. A recent number of *France-Asie* is largely devoted to the fiftieth birthday of L'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient. It began as an Archaeological Mission in Indo-China in 1898 and since then it has achieved renown not only by its uncovering of so much about the Khmer civilisation and the wonders of Angkor, but also by researches further afield in Chinese Turkestan, in India, in China and even in Japan. In the new order the School is the joint property of France and the Associated States with increasing scope for participation by nationals of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam.

With any measures for the preservation of primitive races and their better assimilation into modern states one cannot but sympathise. The *Australian Quarterly* carries

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ROBERT HALE

an article by A. P. Elkin, Vice-Chairman of the Aborigines' Welfare Board of New South Wales, on the steps that are being taken since the 1930s when a positive policy of fitting the aborigines for economic and social advance was adopted. The latest conference of state ministers concerned with aboriginals has appreciated the importance of education and encourages the education of aboriginal children where possible in the regular state schools. Strange to Asian readers is this observation by Professor Elkin: "The future development of most of the north of Australia depends on the labour of the aborigines. With their help we will keep Australia 'white'!"

An article on the Balai Pustaka in *Education and Culture*, the quarterly of the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, tells of the efforts of an Eastern people to overcome the barrier of language in the quest for good reading. Balai Pustaka was started in 1917 by the Netherlands Indies Government as an office for the production of good reading matter. As a publishing house it encourages young writers of promise, translates approved works from one regional language into another, and introduces works by foreign writers to Indonesian readers. In addition it publishes a number of periodicals. In 1950 it produced 128 volumes with a total print order of 603,000 copies. The same quarterly also has a very good illustrated account of the fight against illiteracy in the Republic.

THE MOSCOW ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

By Harold Davies, M.P.

EVERY effort was made at the recent Moscow Economic Conference to develop trade between the Soviet Union and the under-developed areas of Asia, while Indian delegates reported on the impressive display made by the U.S.S.R. at the Bombay Exhibition. This confirms the views expressed by Mr. V. Wolpert in his article last month on Moscow and Asia. The British delegation, headed by Lord Boyd Orr, included one Conservative Member of Parliament, Mr. G. B. Drayson, and four Labour members, Mr. Sydney Silverman, Mr. Emrys Hughes, Mr. Henry Osborne and myself.

The British delegation were the first to get down to business talks with the Chinese and although it was clearly understood that there could be no strategic materials in the list of articles privately sold, a £10 million agreement was made. Lancashire businessmen were keen to sell textiles and some 35 per cent. of this trade is to be in textiles.

A few members in the House of Commons and some newspapers have argued that if the Soviet Union or the Chinese needed trade, then the usual avenues are always

open for negotiations. This is a narrow outlook. Britain can no longer sit back and wait for trade to come to its doors. We must go out and seek our markets.

All of our M.P.s who went to Moscow have had letters and cables from British business interests anxious to discover new possibilities of trade with the East and Asia. I have noticed, too, a change in the attitude of many responsible newspapers to the Conference. They are treating it as a serious effort to increase trade with the Soviet Union and Asia.

This is no doubt due to the fact that the Russians honoured to the letter the promise that no propaganda would be allowed. Although traces of propaganda could be found in Russian speeches, Lord Boyd Orr's speech stoutly proclaimed the British way of life, while Mr. Oliver Vickery of the United States, said: "Nations as well as persons run the gamut from poverty to riches. But I believe that the system of free enterprise inspires and promotes individual initiative, produces and distributes consumer goods more equitably than any other economic system." He added: "As an American businessman, I must in all honesty express a sincere conviction. Unless we retreat from isolationism, and trade, cooperate and understand each other spiritually and economically, we shall find ourselves involved in a war which none of us wants."

Mr. Mikhail Nesterov, President of the Chamber of Commerce of the Soviet Union, outlined the vast possibilities for expansion of trade between Europe, America, South-East Asia, the Middle East and Africa. Nesterov maintained that in the next two or three years the general volume of Soviet trade with these countries could amount to 30,000-40,000 million roubles.

Delegates were unanimous in the belief that this was an important Soviet policy announcement.

In this speech the Soviet Union offered South-East Asia industrial goods and equipment particularly for the metallurgical, fuel and chemical industries, and also for food and light industries. He claimed that the Soviet Union could render technical assistance in the design and construction of industrial enterprises, power plants and irrigation systems. Tractors and farming implements were offered too.

Mr. Nan Han-Chen, the Chinese delegate, leading the Chinese as President of the People's Bank of China made a speech which may be regarded as an official summary of China's position today. The speaker told us that in the past two years the People's Republic of China has made immense economic progress and that vast potentialities have been created for the development of China's

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foreign trade. In 1951 China grew 40.7 per cent. more cotton than in 1950, 27 per cent. more oil plants, 340 per cent. more tobacco, and 98 per cent. more jute. The purchasing capacity of the population, the conference was told, is higher now than it has ever been and the peasants are buying large quantities of cattle fertiliser, water pumps, and farming implements.

According to Nan Han-Chen output advances in 1951 over 1950 were as follows: rolled steel 78 per cent., cement 63 per cent., coal 18 per cent., paper 35 per cent. It was claimed, too, that output of basic manufactures—cotton yarn and fabrics, paper, tyres and inner tubes, rolled steel, cement, copper, caustic soda, refined soda, glass etc., has surpassed the highest level ever achieved in China. In North-East China wages and salaries in 1951 were said to be 260 per cent. higher than in March 1948. The Chinese cooperative movement embraces 39,000 societies with a total membership of 82 million, and the volume of trade was $2\frac{1}{2}$ times larger than in 1950.

Dr. Gyan Chand, Indian economist, acted as Chairman of the working group dealing with problems of the under-developed countries. Here Mr. Altaf Husain of Pakistan felt that the countries of the West talked a lot about the backward areas of the world, but did little in a concrete fashion to alleviate their difficulties.

Mr. Husain wanted the Soviet Union to put forward a "Stalin Plan" for the Asian people, and he welcomed the Soviet Union's increased interest in the under-developed areas.

Professor Kumarappa of India said that the trade should be good for the country that buys and the country that sells and added that tobacco growing and sugar refining in India may take good irrigated land away from the production of foodstuffs in such countries as India. Other Asian speakers urged that careful data should be collected in order to evaluate the impact of certain crops on the under-developed countries' food economy.

Mr U Kyan Min, a Burmese barrister and Member of Parliament, told us of Burma's needs to develop other industries. Prior to the war Burma traded with China, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Rumania, but unfortunately, after the war there has been practically no trade with these countries. Burmese delegates had come to the conference hoping to extend trade with these countries and the Soviet Union.

At the final Plenary Session it was unanimously agreed to address an appeal to the General Assembly of the United Nations drawing the Assembly's attention to the disruption of international trade and asking the United Nations to convene, at the earliest possible date, a conference of representatives of governments, businessmen and trade unions, for the purpose of promoting the expansion of international trade on a basis of equality and with due regard to the needs of the industrialisation of under-developed countries.

As Lord Boyd Orr said, if the conference makes just a dent in the "Iron Curtain" it will have contributed to world understanding.

THE PERILS OF PLANT HUNTING

An interview with F. Kingdon Ward

By Norman Colgan

"THE noise was indescribable. It was like the London blitz at its worst. As we lay there, clinging to the ground for dear life, it seemed as if innumerable express trains were roaring through endless tunnels. We were scared stiff." The speaker, bronzed 65-year-old F. Kingdon Ward, plant hunter and explorer, smiled grimly as he recalled those unnerving moments when the earth turned topsy-turvy around his camp in the remote Assam valley of Rima, one summer's evening nearly two years ago.

He is lucky to be alive. For the earthquake that blasted the Rima valley on August 15, 1950, tore its way across Assam devastating large areas of the province. It lasted only five minutes and in that short space of time killed hundreds of people, buried villages, destroyed

crops and obliterated roads and bridges. It was one of the worst earthquakes ever recorded and but for the fact that much of the area affected was remote jungle and mountain country, the death-roll would have been much greater than it actually was.

Mr. Kingdon Ward who has spent the best part of forty years plant-hunting in the wilds of Tibet, Burma, India, Siam and China amassing the great collection of new species of flowers for which he is famous, gave me an eye-witness account of the earthquake.

It was a botanical expedition which in 1950, found Kingdon Ward with his wife and their party of Tibetan porters, exploring the gorge of the Luhit river, on the frontier between Assam and Eastern Tibet. The Luhit, a tributary of the great Bramaputra river, flows

northwards from the plains of Assam through some of the most mountainous country in the world.

On August 15 the party reached Rima, about 100 miles from the mouth of the Luhit at Sadiya, and decided to camp there for the night. They spot they chose was about a quarter of a mile from the bottom of the gorge. Above them towered the precipitous heights of the valley. Below, the Luhit wound its silvery course towards distant Tibetan valleys. The outlines of snow-clad peaks, etched sharply against the evening sky, emphasised the stillness of the scene. Suddenly the peace of the valley was shattered by a terrifying roar and the distant mountains quivered as if seen through heat-waves. The couple



The Violet Burmese Poppy (Meconopsis violacea)

threw themselves to the ground expecting every moment to be their last. . . .

When the noise gradually died away they cautiously picked themselves up, amazed to find that they were still alive. A fine grey dust covered them from head to toe and hung like a pall over the valley. From time to time huge boulders crashed down the mountain-sides and plunged into the depths below. Long after the shocks

ceased they continued to tear through what was left of the forests.

When they had sufficiently recovered from the initial shock, Kingdon Ward and his wife set about finding how their porters had fared. None was hurt. The next thing they did was typically English: they made themselves a cup of tea.

The following day Kingdon Ward made a reconnaissance of the valley. "I was surprised to find," he told me, "a group of Rima villagers unconcernedly singing as they cleared up some of the damage caused by the earthquake. Though their crops were irretrievably ruined they seemed to take everything that had happened for granted." The vital fact which emerged from this survey was that the normal routes out of the valley had all been destroyed.

Their journey up the gorge had been by means of paths hardly fit for a goat, and the crossing of frail Tibetan rope bridges. Uncomfortable and relatively perilous as these were, their destruction presented a serious problem. Millions of tons of rock had been carved from the sides of the gorge and great sections of forest stripped away and hurled into the river below. This accumulation of rocks, stones and trees formed a massive dam across the Luhit. When this dam finally burst, a wall of water 50 ft. high rushed along the gorge carrying with it a mass of splintered tree trunks.

The Rima valley lay on the edge of the earthquake belt, which extended from the Mishmi Hills in the east to the tribal Subansiri Area in the west, and southwards to the plains of Assam. Within this perimeter lies some of the most isolated territory in the world, much of which is little known.

There was only one way of escape from the Rima gorge and that was by climbing cliff traverses at an angle of 60 degrees. "That journey across the traverse was a nightmare which neither I or my wife will ever forget," said Kingdon Ward. "These cliffs, thousands of feet from the bottom of the gorge, were ice-smooth and without a real foothold of any kind. A moment's hesitation, a slip of the foot, would have meant instant death."

It took them an hour to make this frightful journey, not daring to look below at the jagged rocks which lay a thousand feet beneath these almost vertical precipices. When, trembling and exhausted, the couple reached comparative safety at the top of the gorge the worst of their troubles were over. From here they made their way up river to a point some thirty miles from Rima where they contacted a detachment of Assam Rifles whose commanding officer received a shock when he saw these battered and travel-stained Europeans stroll into the post.

After recuperating in the comparative civilisation of the Assam Rifles outpost for about three weeks, Mr. and Mrs. Kingdon Ward continued their journey to the Assam plains, arriving there in October 1950. From thence they travelled by train and ship to England.



Lilium Nepalense. This close-up study shows the satiny texture of the petals of this beautiful dwarf lily

Owing to the isolated areas involved it is difficult to estimate the total amount of damage that was done by the earthquake. But the blow to Assam's agricultural economy was severe. The earthquake was followed by the flooding of the Bramaputra river and its tributaries from the Mishmi Hills in the north to Kamrup in the south. Assam, which normally has a food surplus, last year faced a serious shortage.

To those of us who live sedentary lives in Western cities the exploits of men like Kingdon Ward have a legendary quality. What is it that impels some men to go, again and again, to the uttermost ends of the earth, enduring hardships, discomfort and danger?

In Kingdon Ward's case it is a love of flowers, the thrill of setting foot in unknown territory, and the need for a certain amount of solitude. Though in regard to the latter Kingdon Ward said: "One must not have too much solitude—or too much civilisation. There is a happy medium in these things."

His crowning achievements—the introduction to the West of several hundred new species of flowers and plants, and his discovery of a great new range of mountains, some of them over 24,000 ft. high, in the Pome province of Tibet—show that exploration has its supremely satisfying moments which more than compensate for the hardships suffered.

SOME NORTH EURASIAN MYTHS

By Hans Findeisen

WHILE staying in the North Siberian region of Turukhansk I accidentally had the opportunity, besides doing research work regarding the hunting tribe of the Yeniseians, to study the characteristic features of Buryat-Mongol shamanism with the assistance of a Buryat-Mongol shaman who had been exiled to the Turukhansk district by the Soviet Government. Among other texts this shaman, who originated from the Irkutsk province, dictated to me a legend referring to the origin of the shamanistic cult and the religious teachings of the Buryat-Mongols. This legend was nothing more than the famous tale of the swan-maiden whose bird's coat was taken by a hunter while she was bathing in a lake. After losing her coat she was no longer able to re-assume the form of a swan, and eventually married the hunter. After having borne her human husband five sons and five daughters the former swan induced her husband to return the bird's coat to her and after putting it on she flew away. As she was leaving her family she called: "My children, my daughters, become shamans; my sons, become

shamans!" Thus shamanism originated among the Buryat-Mongols.

The idea of a marriage between a human being and an animal and of their common offspring represents the general contents of the swan-maiden tale. The point in



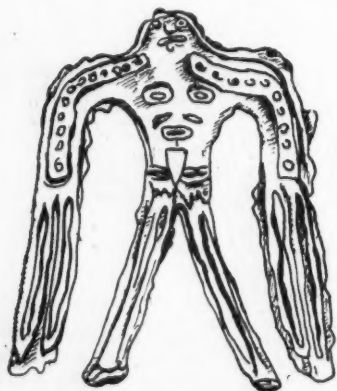
Ancient idol of a probably shamanistic culture from Ust-Kishert, Ural province, in the form of a bird, showing human qualities (head of a man)

question, in regard to that tale, at least in the cases here considered, is that the swan-maiden tale represents a totemistic genealogical tale. There are other tales of this type in North Asia.

For instance, there is the Gilyak tale of the son of a fish-mother and a human father. This son feeds his father after he has become old and unable to hunt for food. The son always had a rich catch of fish. The Yeniseians of the Stony Tunguska see an ancestor in each bear killed; a woman ancestor in a female bear and a man in each male bear. Similar totemistic ideas are known among the Yakuts. There are sibs which trace their origin to an eagle, to a crow or to a brown cow. Those worshipped sib animals may be neither frightened, insulted nor killed by any members of these sibs.

Moreover, we know in North Asia whole tribes or peoples who trace their ancestry back to various animals. Thus, for example, the Uigurs consider themselves as descendants of a wolf, as do the Bersit who live in the Eastern Altai mountains. The sib Aktenga of the Golds traces its descent to the union of a Gold woman with a tiger. From the valley of the Amur river it is often reported in the folklore that many tribes are regarded as the offspring of tigers and bears, for their first mother is considered to have had conjugal relations with those animals in a dream.

A similar group of genealogical folk tales is connected with the shamans of the North Asiatic tribes. Those traditions always mention animal mothers. One of such tales, a Yakut folk tradition, reads as follows: "According to the tales of the shamans each shaman has a so-called animal mother, who looks like a big bird, with a curved, sharp, iron beak, hook-shaped talons, and a tail the length of three times one's extended arms. That animal mother appears to the shaman three times. At first at the birth of the shaman, second when she feeds the soul of the shaman on the mythical shaman's tree, and the third time when the shaman dies." It is characteristic of the last-mentioned group of tales that they do not assume the need for a human father.



So-called "shaitan" (devil) of the contemporary Voguls of North-West Siberia, a relic of a probably shamanistic bronze age culture, showing the complex idea of a bird with human soul

There is another group of folk-tales of human and animal love partnerships which result in the extinction of one of the two partners, for instance, the Gilyak tale of a woman who married a seal. This Gilyak tale is of interest for us in so far as it avows human shape to the male animal, but nevertheless describes the seal who transformed itself into a man as unable to adjust himself to human society. And the man who formerly was a seal is even aware that it exceeds his capabilities to become a real man. When going to hunt animals in order to feed himself and his wife he is unsuccessful. At home he is reproached for each piece of meat he eats. At last he quits the house in anger and finds refuge at an old man's house, but a short time later he dies from an infection at about the same time as the old man. A counterpart of the mournful fate of the seal-man is described in a Gilyak tale of the fate of a woman who married a bear. In this tale the love adventure of the woman ends in the physical destruction of the female partner, and the woman can come to life again only by a powerful charm which is exercised by her sister. As in the swan-maiden tale it is finally the animal which triumphs owing to its powerful nature, for the Gilyak assume that the bear will be able to take possession of both sisters after their natural death.

Another figure which has been similarly disappointed by human relationships is the Eskimo goddess Sedna, the ruler of sea animals. She is also called "She who did not wish to marry," and is also a goddess of the Maritime Chuchee who call her "The Great Woman," "The Old Woman," or "The Rich Woman." In the cases where she is described as being married her husband is either a "Great Spirit" (Tomarsu) or a dog, and part of her children are real dogs, or beings the lower parts of which is dog shaped while the upper part is human.

The Greenland Eskimo tell the following story about her. She is called "The One Without a Name" or just "Old Woman." Her home is at the bottom of the sea. In her chamber there is a lamp which has a cup underneath it to collect the drops of oil which drip from the lamp to the floor. In this oil are swimming crowds of maritime birds, seals, walruses and narwhals. She prevents the sea animals from going to the shore or they even remain voluntarily with her, attracted by the vermin on her head. This makes it difficult for the shaman to pay a visit to the sea goddess in order to placate her and to comb her hair. The road to her realm is dangerous, and the shaman has to take his assistant spirit with him. He has to overcome several obstacles, for example, a guard of ferocious seals, and the large dog which begins to bark loudly as soon as a shaman is approaching. The road into her house is as narrow as the blade of a knife. If at last the shaman succeeds in getting into her house he still can be struck dead by Sedna, for her hands are as large as a whale's tail. She grows so furious about the shaman's visit that she plucks her hair and foams with rage. Therefore, the shaman has to scuffle with her before she allows

him to pick her lice and to comb her. Previously, I have mentioned that Sedna belongs to the group of mythical beings who have been disappointed by human life. The experiences she has had with her relatives caused her to go to the bottom of the sea in the shape of an old female walrus or, according to other versions, partly in human and partly in animal form. Her first conflict is with her father when she rejects his command to get married. He threatens her on her refusal: "If you do not want to take a man as your husband you have to marry a wicked demon!" Once her relatives abandon her purposely on a lonely coast in order that she might perish. She throws herself into the water and begins to follow the boat. But scarcely does she reach the boat and grasp the board, when her father cuts off her fingers and after that even the arms to the elbows. Her finger joints turn into fish and the hand bones as well as the fore-arms become seals. In her despair Sedna tries to cling to the board with her teeth for which purpose she suddenly gets walrus fangs. A short fight is developing in the course of which her father breaks off one of the fangs and knocks out one of her eyes. Then Sedna overturns the boat and all its occupants are drowned. She goes to the bottom of the sea where she becomes the mistress of all sea animals. Generally Sedna is described in the myths as being unmarried. In the versions where she is described as being married to "Tomarsu" from whom she has a child, she dominates them both. Other myths describe her husband as a storm-petrel. One winter Sedna is living in the bird's country but is set free by her father who, according to one Eskimo tradition, even kills her bird husband. But on the way back the other storm-petrels cause such a terrible storm that the boat capsizes. Sedna reaches the bottom of the sea and becomes the ruler over the sea animals. Nevertheless, in spite of her bad experiences with her family Sedna has not become a goddess with an exclusively hostile conduct towards man. We are also aware of such cases in Eurasian myths.

We now come to a group of tales which are particularly closely connected with the main part of the swan-maiden myth. One of these is an Icelandic tale which deals with a man who early one morning was walking along the sea coast, and came to the entrance of a cavern. From the interior of the cavern he heard noises and dancing and outside he saw a great number of seal skins. He took one of them. Later during the day he went once more to the entrance of the cavern. Outside it was a beautiful naked girl who was weeping bitterly. She was the seal to whom the seal skin belonged. The man gave the girl clothes, took her to his home and later she bore him children. But one day, when the man was out fishing, the woman found the seal skin. The temptation was too great, so she said farewell to her children, put on the skin and plunged into the sea.

In the same way as the swans are obliged to take off their birds' apparel in order to bathe, in a Mongol folk legend a red-haired bitch takes off her skin. Or the

Contemporary Chukchee drawing of Sedna, the ruler of the sea mammals, now regarded as living on the moon. She squeezes out of her breasts walruses, the principle food of the Maritime Chukchee



Koryak tell the story of the daughter of the creator who turns into a dog if her brother throws a dog skin upon her.

From all this, we may conclude that an essential element of the swan-maiden tale which was discussed at the beginning of this article, is the motive of the animal's skin. The Icelandic tale shows us clearly that the final part of the swan-maiden tale which deals with the children of the couple and their fate did not originally form an essential part of the tale. We can assume that the swan-maiden tale once ended in the same way as the Icelandic folk tale, for it is thematically so complete that it does not require any continuation.

In summarising it can be said that the swan-maiden tale, which is told among the Northern Buryats as an explanation of the very beginning of shamanism, is used by other Mongol peoples to describe the origins of some relationships. It is not the only tale of this kind, but it can be considered as belonging to a whole group of similar folk traditions the contents of which show sexual relations between all kinds of animals on the one side, and of human beings, men or women, on the other side. All these tales can be considered as creations of "archaic" times or the epoch of the hunting culture. This epoch can chronologically be modified as "palaeolithic." In Northern Asia the state of mind which characterises this hunting phase is still to be found in large areas. Since the glacial period in North Asia, hunting has survived as a predominant economic and cultural factor among the tribes of the primeval forest, the so-called "taiga" and on the sea coasts. But nomads in the Steppe and in the Tundra still show strong features of this archaic hunting culture.

Generally this culture ascribes to animals a power superior to man. This is true not only with the large beasts of prey, but also with small animals, birds and insects. The reason for this respect for all animals may lie in the economic dependency of the archaic hunters on animals as the basis of their existence. But a second factor for that esteem seems to have been the perception of essential identical elements in both men and animals.

ECONOMIC SECTION

The Colombo Plan

By *The Hon. J. R. Jayewardene*
(Minister of Finance, Ceylon)

THE Colombo Plan originated at the Commonwealth Meeting on Foreign Affairs, held in Colombo, in January 1950. The conference had before it two proposals, one by Ceylon and the other by Australia. Both these proposals urged the necessity for raising the standards of living of under-developed countries in South and South-East Asia by the preparation of a plan for the economic and social development of their economies, and by the granting of aid, both financial and technical, from the developed countries in the implementation of these plans. Finally, the conference made certain recommendations to Governments. Among these recommendations were:

- (a) granting of credit by Governments and international organisations to countries in South and South-East Asia for productive purposes;
- (b) making available technical skill for the same purposes; and
- (c) the establishment of a Consultative Committee to develop further the above proposals, to consider plans for the economic development of the under-developed countries of this area, and to consider an organisation for the implementation of this plan.

The Australian Government undertook to convene, in Australia, the first meeting of the Consultative Committee.

CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

After the various governments had accepted these recommendations, the Consultative Committee met in Sydney in May of the same year. At this conference, all the Commonwealth countries, except the Union of South Africa, which did not wish to participate in these proceedings, adopted several recommendations, a summary of which is given below:

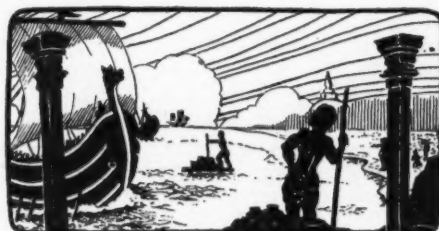
- (1) The under-developed countries of this area were to prepare six-year plans for economic and social development ending on June 30, 1957. These plans were to be examined at another conference to be held in London in September, and assembled into a single report stating the needs and resources of the area. The question of external financial aid and technical assistance by aid-giving countries and organisations would then be considered.
- (2) A Technical Cooperation Scheme providing assistance up to a maximum of £8 million over a period of 3 years commencing on July 1, 1950, was drawn up. The United Kingdom and Australian Governments contributed 70 per cent., and India 10 per cent. of this amount: the balance was contributed by the other countries.

- (3) A Bureau to be set up in Colombo to assist the implementation of the scheme for technical assistance.
- (4) A Standing Committee of the Consultative Committee to meet in Colombo to recommend the organisation that should administer the Technical Assistance Scheme.
- (5) Assistance was to be arranged on a bilateral basis by aid-giving and aid-receiving countries.
- (6) It was also decided to associate non-Commonwealth under-developed countries in the scheme for economic development, and to invite the non-Commonwealth countries interested in the area, which were able to give aid, to join.

MEETING IN LONDON

The next meeting of the Consultative Committee was held in London in September of the same year. The Commonwealth countries that attended the Sydney Conference were present, and there were observers from Burma, Indonesia, Laos, Cambodia, Viet Nam and Siam. This conference considered the individual plans prepared by the countries and assembled them into a single report outlining the needs and resources of the area covering a period of six years. The technical aid that was necessary, as well as the external finance that would be required to carry out this plan, were clearly stated.

The organisation of the Technical Assistance Bureau set up in Colombo was finalised, and the economic and social development of South and South-East Asia under the name of "Colombo Plan"—because the Plan had



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its birth in Colombo—was made known to the world. The U.S.A., as the largest provider of aid to under-developed countries, as well as the World Bank, were informed of the Colombo Plan, and the U.S.A. has agreed to be a full member of the Consultative Committee and to co-ordinate its plans for aid with the working of the Colombo Plan. The World Bank sends its observer to all meetings, and has established the closest liaison with the Consultative Committee. The Agencies of the U.N. providing technical aid have agreed to work in close co-operation with the Colombo Plan organisation.

THE ORGANISATION

The organisation which controls the working of the Colombo Plan is as follows: There is at the head of affairs the Consultative Committee which meets at ministerial as well as official levels. When it meets at ministerial level, it discusses questions of policy. The Consultative Committee is not now called the Commonwealth Consultative Committee since America is a full member of it, as well as Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam and more recently, Burma. Indonesia, Siam and the Philippines are expected to join. The Consultative Committee meets at official level often, and when it does, it considers the implementation of the policies laid down by the ministerial meetings and the working of the Technical Assistance Bureau. These two committees meet in the various countries that are parties to the Colombo Plan.

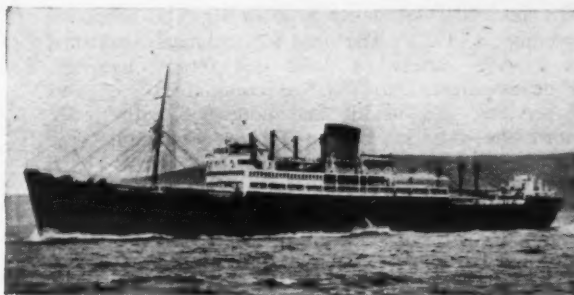


The Hon. J. R. Jayewardene, Ceylon's Minister of Finance

There is also the Council for Technical Cooperation which is responsible for the administration of the Technical Assistance Scheme I have mentioned earlier. This

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Council consists of the representatives of the countries cooperating in the Colombo Plan, and a detailed constitution governing it has been drawn up. The headquarters of the Council are in Colombo, and the Director of the Technical Assistance Bureau established in Colombo functions under the control of this Council.

FLOW OF AID

The Technical Assistance Scheme began its functions on December 1, 1950. The need for technical assistance covers a wide variety of fields—agriculture, industry, power development, transport and communications, and social services like health and education. In order to finance the provision of experts and the facilities for the training of personnel, participating governments have agreed to contribute an amount up to £8 million over a period of three years. The money is not placed in a fund of a common pool, but expenditure incurred is debited to the government which provides the aid given. For example, if an expert is sent to Ceylon by Australia, all expenses that Australia incurs will be debited to her contribution. Similarly, if a trainee is sent to Canada from Ceylon, all expenses that the Canadian Government incurs in that connection will be debited to its contribution.

Since the establishment of the Council for Technical Cooperation in December 1950, technical aid has flowed in substantial volume to the countries in the area.

The Technical Cooperation Scheme has now been in existence for over a year, and up to the end of December 1951, India, Pakistan and Ceylon have received 39 experts and training facilities abroad have been provided for 304 trainees. Applications for assistance have now gathered considerable momentum, particularly in the last few months, as now the Scheme has become well-known and countries in the area are able to assess more fully their own requirements. The number of applications for assistance that were made for aid since the inception of the Scheme up to the end of December 1951, including those on which assistance has already been given, is 133 for the recruitment of 182 experts, and 290 for 797 trainees.

I would like to state here that even though technical aid under the Colombo Plan is on a government to government basis, such aid is also available to private industry and business, provided the aid sought is sponsored by the Government of the country in which the private industry or business is established.

This is one aspect of the Colombo Plan; the other is the provision of external financial aid for the implementation of the plans of development.

DEVELOPMENT PLANS

Plans of development commenced on July 1, 1951, and the first stage has to be completed on June 30, 1957. The overall cost of the Colombo Plan economic development, as far as India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya, Singapore and British North Borneo are concerned, on the basis of the programme set out in the 1950 Report is £1,868 million. Of this, 32 per cent, is to be spent on agriculture, 34 per cent. on transport and communications, 6 per cent. on fuel and power, 10 per cent. on industry and mining and 18 per cent. on social services. The proposed development is expected to yield the following results by the end of the period of the Plan:

- (1) An additional 13 million acres of land under cultivation (an increase of 3½ per cent.)
- (2) an increase of 6 million tons in the production of food grains (an increase of 10 per cent.)
- (3) an increase of 13 million acres of land under irrigation (an increase of 17 per cent.)
- (4) an increase of 1.1 million kilowatts in electric generating capacity (an increase of 67 per cent.)

EXTERNAL FINANCE

External finance will be needed in the form of £246 million from the sterling balances of the individual countries held in London, and £838 million from other

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sources. As far as Ceylon is concerned, it is estimated that she will need £19 million in sterling releases and £41 million from other sources.

With regard to sterling releases, the United Kingdom Government has agreed to make the releases as required. This leaves a balance of about £838 million to be found from other external sources. The possible channels of external finances are:—

- (1) from private investors overseas to private enterprise in the area;
- (3) from international institutions to governments in the area; and
- (4) from governments overseas to governments in the area.

With regard to (1), there is no doubt that there is a growing field for private investment in South and South-East Asia for which public development programmes are providing a sound economic framework. But the immediate problem is to finance basic economic development and the establishment of basic services, in which fields private enterprise is generally not interested. The governments of the area, however, have stated that they would welcome private foreign investment in economic projects and schemes.

With regard to (2), it must be stated that borrowing by governments from private investors abroad has been the principal source of finance for development in the past. There is a substantial volume of lending by the London market to governments throughout the world. However, there is at present great pressure on the London market, and there are more demands for loans for some years ahead than there are likely to be resources available.

With regard to (3), the reference is principally to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The Bank has in fact granted loans to about three countries in the area. But the terms and conditions of the loans granted by the Bank are generally such that they are not attractive to under-developed countries. Liaison, however, has been established with the Bank by the Consultative Committee.

We now come to the last of the available channels, namely, aid from governments overseas to governments in the area. In view of the magnitude of the finance involved, it can be taken for granted that the external finance that would be made available through the previous three channels will be inadequate in relation to what is needed, and that the last channel will have to play the predominant role. Aid will, therefore, be expected to flow from the members of the Consultative Committee which consists of governments taking part, or taking a direct interest, in the Colombo Plan. Apart from the Commonwealth governments, the United States Government is now a full member of the Consultative Committee.

The Commonwealth governments have already stated without fixing definite ceilings, the external finance that would be available from them individually in the

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form of aid. The United Kingdom Government has indicated that, apart from the sterling releases referred to earlier, finance in the neighbourhood of about £50 million would be made available. Australia has offered £25 million. Canada has offered 25 million dollars, and New Zealand £1 million, for the first year of the Plan. The expectation is that the gap, or "missing component," would be made available by the United States. The United States has its own foreign aid programme which covers assistance to South and South-East Asia as well. This programme is quite substantial in volume. In view of the fact that the United States has become a full member of the Consultative Committee, the very existence of her foreign programme gives sufficient confidence to the hope that adequate aid would be forthcoming from her to enable the Colombo Plan to be implemented in full.

CEYLON AND THE COLOMBO PLAN

Economic Development. The economic development plan which Ceylon submitted for inclusion in the Colombo Plan visualised a six-year plan for the agricultural and industrial development of Ceylon. To this was added social development too, such as the establishment of schools and hospitals. The main object of the programme was to bring about increased economic stability by reducing Ceylon's precarious dependence upon factors outside its control. The main features and cost of the programme are indicated in the following table:—

		Rs. million	£ million	Percentage
Agriculture	...	503	38	37
Transport and communications—				
Railways	30			
Roads	100	297	22	22
Ports and harbours	167			
Power	...	109	8	8
Industry	...	75	6	6
Social capital—				
Housing	47			
Health	47	375	28	27
Education	196			
Total		1,359	102	100

By 1957 it is planned to have under food crops another 200,000 to 250,000 acres, an increase of about 20 per cent. on the present food producing areas. Some of the irrigation projects involve the construction of multi-purpose schemes, such as the damming of the Gal Oya in the Eastern Province and of the Walawe Ganga in the Southern Province. In industrial development, projects have already been started for the extraction of refined coconut oil, the manufacture of D.D.T. and caustic soda, of sugar cane, paper, steel and ilmenite in addition to the reorganisation of the existing factories for the manufacture of plywood, glass and ceramics. The cement factory is already in production.

The provision of power as well as transport and communications must go hand in hand with agricultural and industrial development. The first stage of the Laxapana Hydro-Electric Scheme is already complete, generating 25,000 kilowatts. It is proposed to start the second stage at an early date, generating another 25,000 kilowatts. The multi-purpose irrigation schemes at Gal Oya and Walawe will also provide hydro-electricity.

Under transport and communications, in addition to the opening up of the country by a network of roads, the main projects are the development of the Port of Colombo, the first stage of which has already commenced, and the electrification of the Railway from Panadura to Veyangoda.

Under social development, schemes are well in hand for the provision of housing, hospitals and schools.

During the six years it was proposed to spend on these three projects almost Rs. 400 million. The entire cost of the programme, as mentioned above, is Rs. 1,359 million. The plan outlines the portion of money which the Ceylon Government can provide and what is necessary to be obtained from external sources.

Fortunately for Ceylon, during the first year of the working of the economic development plan which commenced in July 1951, our balance of payments position was so satisfactory that no external aid was necessary on a large scale. However, of the monies provided by Australia and New Zealand, Ceylon has been able to make provision for two important schemes. The Australian offer of £A300,000 (almost Rs. 4 million) for the first year, 1951-52, will be utilised for the establishment of tuberculosis clinics in all the provincial capitals. The New Zealand contribution of £250,000 (almost Rs. 3½ million) for the first year has already been allotted for the establishment of dry farming schemes in the North Central Province, and the Minister of Agriculture is proceeding with this project with great rapidity. In addition to these two gifts, the Australian Government is giving £50,000 worth of necessary equipment which has been divided among various Ministries according to their needs. It includes important equipment, such as microscopes, equipment for schools, agricultural implements, etc. Unfortunately we were unable to obtain a share of the Canadian grant of 25 million dollars during the first year, which has gone entirely to India and Pakistan. Ceylon has made a claim for aid out of the contribution that Canada will make in the coming year, which will be as large a contribution as in the first year. This aid may be used in the carrying out of our rural development programme.

The substantial aid given by the U.S.A. under the Mutual Security Act, which is being used by countries in the Colombo Plan to further their development programmes, has not yet been available to Ceylon. It is hoped that this financial aid, too, may be available to us in the coming years.

Technical Assistance. Under the Technical Assistance Scheme we have received a wide variety of assistance in the fields of agriculture, industry, power development, transport and social services. The participating countries have contributed a sum amounting to £8 million which would be used during a period of three years. Ceylon need not spend any money when her people go out for training nor when experts are sent to Ceylon to do specific jobs or to train her people. Our contribution, which is about Rs. 1½ million a year for three years, is used only if trainees are sent out to Ceylon for training. The spheres in which such training is available in Ceylon are particularly in the spheres of rural development and co-operation. Ceylon's contribution is now being used in the setting up of rural training centres in the chief provinces; here, not only our own rural leaders, but trainees from other countries too learn at our expense.

The Technical Assistance Scheme began to operate in December 1950, and during the twelve months of its existence Ceylon has received 18 experts and training facilities have been provided for 49 trainees. Applications for assistance are now increasing as the scheme becomes known, and such aid is available not only to Government servants but to private industry and business as well, provided the aid sought is sponsored by the Government. The spheres in which some of our people are being trained are as dental nurses in New Zealand, in Customs work in India, in engineering firms in Canada and the United Kingdom and in technical education in Australia. Experts have also been sent out to help us in our development schemes, and one such team is now advising us on the construction of the dam across the Walawe River.

AID WITHOUT STRINGS

I have outlined the origin, development and the purposes of the Colombo Plan for the economic and social development of South and South-East Asia. The Colombo Plan deals with a very vast region of the world, stretching from Pakistan in the west to the Philippines in the east, and containing a population of about 600 million. Five years ago, except for Siam, this entire region was under Western rule and used as colonies for the benefit of the ruling countries. With the exception of a few, the countries in the area have regained their freedom. They are under the rule of governments responsible to the people. The masses living in these territories are some of the poorest in the world, and they demand, and have the right to expect from their governments, speedy improvement in their material conditions. The Colombo Plan seeks to provide that improvement as quickly as possible and secure for its accomplishment the help of better developed countries. It is a human plan, for its main purpose is to raise the living standards of the people of this area. It is a realistic plan for it does not work according to



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theories and slogans, but according to sober estimates of the development that can be completed within a period of six years. For the successful working of the Colombo Plan two main considerations must exist: the cooperation between aid-givers and aid-receivers for the mutual benefit

of both, and the preservation of the independence of the aid-receivers. In that sense the Plan is unique, for aid without any strings attached is provided and received. The only motive that inspires all parties is the idea of service to mankind.

TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN HONG KONG

By Shum Choy Wah

(Chairman, Chinese Manufacturers' Union, Hong Kong)

IN commenting upon the present situation of the textile industry in Hong Kong, it is first of all necessary to give a brief outline of its origin and development.

In 1900 a cotton mill was set up here by a British firm, but because of the unfavourable circumstances prevailing at that time, it stopped operation after a short period. That was the first cotton mill started in the Colony.

Two or three years after the First World War, small weaving factories, using handlooms, first came into existence in Hong Kong. At that time they used high-graded cotton yarn for warp, and rayon for weft. The products were marketed largely in the South Seas area, and business was good.

Bigger weaving factories, using foot-looms, first appeared in Hong Kong around the year 1924, turning out brocades for the special requirements of the Chinese.

In 1933 it was declared at the Ottawa Conference that industrial products manufactured in British Possessions should enjoy a preferential tariff, and since then the textile industry in Hong Kong gradually took shape.

When Canton fell into the hands of the Japanese Army in 1938, some weaving factories were removed to Hong Kong from the interior of China and continued their operations here. After the outbreak of World War II, when the industries of European countries were mostly geared to the needs of war, the weaving industry in Hong Kong grew very quickly. In a short period the number

of weaving factories rose to 200, with electric looms increasing to 2,500 and handlooms to 1,500.

With the outbreak of the Pacific War, and the capture of Hong Kong by the Japanese, all industries came to a standstill, including the weaving industry. After the end of the war in 1945, industries in Hong Kong began to resume production and most of the weaving factories went again into operation. During the period 1946-47, owing to the world shortage of cotton piece-goods, the weaving industry in Hong Kong was given a great stimulus and the number of both electric looms and hand-looms increased to 3,000.

Between 1947-48, due to the great economic disturbances in China a number of her big cotton mills moved to Hong Kong, bringing the spindles here to a total of about 180,000, and increasing the number of up-to-date automatic weaving looms.

After 1950, however, as a result of the embargo on American cotton to Hong Kong, and of the blow given to it by Japanese cotton cloth competition, the textile industry in Hong Kong has been steadily declining. At present the difficulties are so great that more than half of the weaving factories have been forced to close down. The textile manufacturers in Hong Kong, are now confronted with great difficulties and are facing a hard struggle.

However, the recent lifting of the American ban on cotton exports to Hong Kong will undoubtedly ease the stringent situation of the colony's textile industry.

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United States Economic Aid to South-East Asia

By Clarence R. Decker

(Assistant Director, Mutual Security Agency for the Far East)

AFTER World War II and the local wars in the Far East that followed, it became clear to the United States that South-East Asia urgently needed help. Newly independent nations, long under colonial rule, were struggling against odds to establish democratic governments, to repair the destruction of war, and to make possible the development of their resources for the benefit of their peoples.

As in other areas of the world, Communist-controlled political elements rapidly increased their efforts to repudiate existing governments and assume power. These groups, operating under the guise of independent nationalist movements, assert that the new governing bodies are foreign-controlled and aim at maintaining the status quo rather than improving the standard of living.

The United States opposed annexation of these fledgling nations by an empire which would subvert nationalist aims and desires. Furthermore, an area of great strategic and tactical importance to the Western Powers was immediately threatened. Therefore, in June 1950, a programme of economic assistance to Indo-China, Burma, Indonesia, the Philippines, Siam and Formosa was initiated. Through this programme, the young governments could more quickly secure the tools necessary to meet immediate minimum economic requirements of their citizens and to provide the means for more rapid development of resources. This action, the United States believes, will establish a base for a strong popular will to live and work within existing political frameworks and to resist Russian-controlled aggression, internal or external.

United States economic assistance to South-East Asia is being directed in the main toward these goals: strengthening governments; rehabilitation and development of basic industries—agriculture, fisheries, forestry and local manufacturing—by efficient use of resources and by improving existing techniques; rehabilitation and extension of public services, such as health, sanitation and communications by assisting in the provision of basic material and by furnishing technical advice; supplying of relatively small amounts of consumer commodities necessary to meet minimum civil and defence needs.

The allocations for specific projects vary with the present economic and social conditions peculiar to each recipient country. Warfare in Indo-China has created a major civilian refugee problem, a critical shortage of medical supplies and facilities and an urgent need for adequate housing. In Formosa, extensive development of natural power facilities, communications and heavy

industry present an economic situation different from other South-East Asian countries.

Several basic principles apply to the general South-East Asia programme. The first is that the maximum possible number of people should receive tangible benefits. A typical result of this policy is the work of the joint Committee on Rural Reconstruction in Formosa. This group, composed mainly of Chinese agricultural specialists and supported largely by the Mutual Security Agency Mission, has brought about land reforms, reduced land rents, organised small-farmer cooperatives, and has distributed fertilizers supplied by America.

The second principle is to channel aid so that it strengthens the institutions of government, such as national public health and agricultural extension services, within the recipient nations. The major aim of this policy is to develop institutions which will be entirely self-supporting.



Siamese officials working on ECA rice culture experiment

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The general underlying principle is to utilise outright grant aid only to inaugurate projects and institutions which will eventually become self-supporting, thus developing a sounder financial foundation based upon loans and increased private investment rather than upon outright grants.

Economic aid to South-East Asia is administered by the Mutual Security Agency, an agency which, in December 1951, assumed many of the functions of the Economic Cooperation Administration. MSA is directed by Mr. W. Averell Harriman, who is also director of the Mutual Security Programme which co-ordinates all foreign aid activities of the State and Defence Departments with those of the Agency. Thus direction is given towards the primary goal of U.S. foreign policy—mutual security against social and economic conditions deleterious to maintenance of the Western way of life and against military and political expansion of Russia—by integration of the various U.S. aid programmes, namely: economic aid to under-developed areas, administered by MSA in South-East Asia and by the Department of State through the Technical Cooperation Administration in other parts of the world; economic aid to Europe, administered by MSA; direct military aid, administered by the Department of Defence; and U.S. participation in United Nations aid programmes which is supervised by the Department of State.

By June, a total of \$323.5 million will have been allocated for economic aid to five South-East Asian countries and Formosa. The breakdown of the two-year aid figure will show that \$46.2 million was allocated for Indo-China, \$24.8 million for Burma, \$173.6 million for Formosa, \$16 million for Indonesia, \$15.9 million for Siam and \$47 million for the Philippines. Division of the total aid figure by type of project shows that 42 per cent. is devoted to agriculture, forestry and fisheries, 28 per cent. to public works, 15 per cent. to public health, 7 per cent. to handicrafts and heavy industry, and the remaining 8 per cent. fairly evenly distributed between the fields of education, public administration, and general engineering advisory services.

These figures combine the cost of materials and the salaries of the 342 technical advisers, since U.S. economic aid combines material assistance with technical advice. Commodities are furnished to meet subsistence needs; small amounts of capital goods are provided which will aid the expansion of those parts of a country's economy that are capable of quick growth. Specialists work with local government personnel to share their modern technical knowledge and apply it to existing methods to achieve maximum effectiveness.

American economic aid falls into two categories, direct and indirect. Direct assistance consists of the technical assistance and material furnished outright to the government concerned. Indirect aid is the supplying of dollar exchange for the import by private entrepreneurs of equipment and commodities which in themselves will strengthen the national economic base.

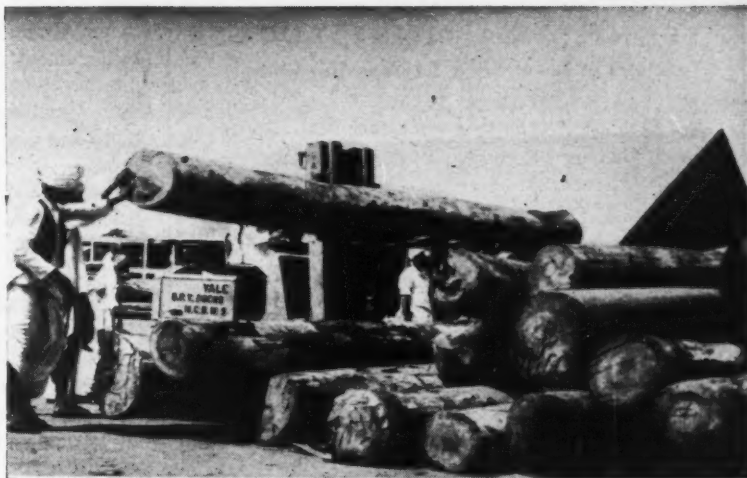
Military projects have been expanded as Communist activity has increased and the threat of Russian-controlled military expansion has become more serious. The improvement of airfield and port facilities and communications of all types is being emphasised. But the primary objective of U.S. economic aid to the countries of South-East Asia, is, and will continue to be, that of helping the countries to build the permanent economic foundations of their existence as independent nations.

The Mutual Security Agency is one instrument working to achieve this goal. The Colombo Plan, the International Bank, United Nations agencies and private capital also are making major contributions.

Is the programme succeeding? The Mutual Security Agency is convinced that real progress is being made. Increasing understanding and cooperation in the administration of the programme has resulted in tangible benefits to great masses of people. Substantial progress has been made in many sectors affecting country economies, for instance: a Siamese tank irrigation project has increased annual rice production by 34,000 metric tons; Formosan electric power capacity has risen 25 per cent. during the past year; 250,000 trachoma patients have received complete treatment in Indo-China. In addition, technical assistance projects are creating a new group of local specialists who, in turn, train their fellow-countrymen.

INDIA'S TIMBER INDUSTRY

By A. C. Sekhar
(Forest Research
Institute, Dehra Dun)



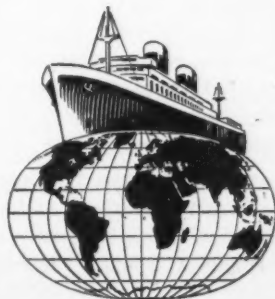
Handling of timber at Port of Bombay

INDIA is primarily a country of natural tropical forests with only a few plantations. With the exception of the belt of forests along the foot of Himalayas and a little on the Gangetic plains where conifers and sal predominate, the rest of the forests in Assam, Central India, Andamans and South India are essentially mixed forests with a very

large number of species of which only a few are at present marketable. Of these forests, the total area under the control of Central and State Governments is about 150,000 sq. miles and it is doubtful if more than 60 per cent. of this area is considered suitable for exploitation unless forest operations are mechanised and better transport and

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communication facilities are introduced. There are large forests under private ownership in India, but on the whole they have not been worked on any systematic basis. However, the net yearly output from all these forests is roughly estimated at about 1.5 million tons. In spite of this India still imports about 70,000 tons of timber and exports very little chiefly to Pakistan. Of the available quantity in India more than half is consumed by the Railway and other Central Government departments, about 15 per cent. by Provincial Government departments, and 30 per cent. by the manufacturing industries, thus leaving only a small percentage for public consumption.

The cost of production of timber in the country is rather high and works out roughly to about Rs. 12 to 15 per cu. ft. of sawn timber depending on the species, nearness of forest area and available transport. The facts governing the production cost of timber are numerous. In most parts of the country buffaloes and elephants are generally employed from the stump to the extraction roads, and carts are still the popular means of transport. Motor lorries have been increasingly used during war and subsequent years, but their use in forest areas is limited only to the dry months. Conversion is generally done by hand sawers either at the stump or depots. There are only about 500 saw mills in the whole of India and of these less than 10 per cent. are forest saw mills with reasonable capacity. The rest are mostly city saw mills solely depending on re-conversion. Forest labour these days is by no means cheap or readily available, but working conditions are generally improving with the extension of anti-malarial precautions and other welfare services. The old methods of disposal of small working coupes each year by open auction is gradually being replaced by long-term leases granted directly to various wood using industries. This ensures a continuous supply of raw material to any particular industry.

The consumption of timber and timber products has been retarded by the cheapness and availability of other building materials, such as stones and bricks. However,

today, with the shortage of steel and cement for requirements of rehabilitation and other development schemes in India, increasing interest is being shown in timber for building construction, electrical transmission poles, etc. Moreover, teak, which gained a world-wide reputation for durability and dimensional stability, was plentiful in India and Burma and was used practically for all purposes. But today, with the shortage of teak, and increased knowledge of wood preservation and economic utilisation of timber, other species hitherto considered non-durable and unsuitable are now being adapted for various uses.

Among the existing industries, mention may be made of those manufacturing packing cases, plywood, matches, furniture, bobbins for jute and textile mills, tool handles, battery separators, pencils and miscellaneous woodware, most of which were started during the last war and are all gradually coming up. Some of these industries depend at least partly on imports of certain raw materials, including timber. Some of them have also suffered because their principal consumers have had considerable foreign interests and naturally desired to import the finished wood products from overseas. This had a great effect chiefly on the production of plywood which is mostly used for packing tea in India. When the majority of the jute mills were under foreign control and the bobbins used in these mills were foreign made, the indigenous bobbin industry had great difficulty in pushing its products in the market. However, with the considerable encouragement given by the Government of India towards the development of Indian industries, and the Tariff Board making periodical surveys of the various industrial developments, the timber industry is making steady progress.

This progress is also largely attributable to the technical advances initiated by the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun. This is the biggest institution of its kind in the world since it combines facilities for forest education, research utilisation and the development of forest products. The various sectors of the timber industry are in constant touch with this Institute and during the last war many original contributions were made in developing such products as plywood containers, aircraft requirements, glues and bobbins, and building up of core stock, utilisation of small dimensions and wood waste and manufacture of laminated products and other improved forms of wood. Under its expansion schemes, some of the problems and day to day requirements of the growing units of the industry are taken in hand, and technical advice is given when necessary.

Valuable service is being rendered to the timber industry by the Indian Standards Institute, which is evolving Indian standards for many timber products. Representatives of the Forest Research Institute, other Government

departments and industry are formed into special committees to draft the various specifications. These standards have greatly facilitated the transactions between producers and consumers as formerly the quality of Indian timber products was often open to dispute. Among the specifications that have greatly helped the industry so far, mention may be made of the one for plywood tea-chests. A glance at the specification indicates the correct requirements for manufacture of plywood, fabrication of tea-chests, inspection, methods of tests and the various species to be utilised.

Another cause that has contributed to the development of the industry is the recent formation of professional and commercial organisations in order to tackle common problems. There are at present two plywood manufacturers' associations which act as a liaison between the individual units of the industry and the Government. These associations generally undertake to import the necessary raw materials in a collective way for all individual units. One of the associations is also intending to start a trade and technical journal to keep the various units well informed on the latest developments in all fields of the industry. Similarly the manufacturers of the jute mill bobbins, textile mill bobbins, battery separators and sports goods have their own trade organisations. A federation of sports goods manufacturers' associations has also come into existence and runs its own trade journal every month. Some of the associations are also planning to start their own laboratories.

One of the difficulties which confront the industry is the fact that all the capital equipment is generally imported and investors have to pay considerable amounts for machinery imported from abroad and which is not accurately designed for Indian tropical woods. Some interest is now being shown by the industry in producing the required designs of machinery and wood working tools to suit Indian hardwood, and it may be expected that some useful results will be obtained. Another problem is that the timber industry often has to compete with many cottage industries producing articles of perfect craftsmanship; the large-scale investors are very often faced with the problem of labour saving devices versus craftsmanship and the consequent unhealthy competition in the various sections of the industry. There are at present no factories with fully mechanised units and production-line systems as the demand for wood and wood products has not justified any such mechanisation. However, these problems are gradually being solved and there are now signs that the conditions for steady demand and supply are being created.

Thus a brief survey of the industry on the above lines indicates good prospects of development in all fields if more systematic effort is introduced in the working of individual units and long-term plans are put into operation with facilities for easy conversion between wartime and peace-time production.

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LEAD, one of the heaviest of the elements, is found in many parts of the world as galena or sulphide of lead. It is still mined in Northern England and in Wales. Lead was one of the first metals to be worked by Man. The Baths of ancient Rome were supplied with water through pipes made of lead, and for centuries it has been used as a roofing material. Soft, easy to shape and resistant to corrosion, lead is still employed for these purposes, but today it has many other important uses. Large quantities alloyed with anti-mony are now used to make plates for electric accumulators and to protect insulated cables. Soft solder is an alloy of lead

and tin, and alloys of copper, tin and lead are used for bearings. Litharge, an oxide of lead, is used in making flint glass, pottery glazes and in the processing of rubber. Red lead, another oxide, and white lead, or lead carbonate are well known in the manufacture of paint. In the chemical industry, plant and equipment for the manufacture and storage of sulphuric acid are lined with lead because of its resistance to corrosion.

I.C.I. makes wrought lead products such as sheet, pipes, tape and wire for a wide variety of purposes. It also makes the compounds, lead-azide and lead-styphnate for the detonators used with blasting explosives in mining and quarrying.



